Anti-Colonial war, Anti-nuclear campaign & anti-Vietnam War 1955-1965

*(**Anti-Soviet Red Army Occupations – info*)
Flyers & newsletters where present, followed by ***journal articles***
*for information only

Code WV = Workers Vanguard
Code LC = Labor Challenge
Code FW = Forward

1955-1956

1955-WV-Issue#1-1	('Big Four') Adjourn Geneva, Nothing solved (still prepare for war)
1955-WV-Issue#1-2	Moroccan Freedom Fighters rouse solidarity in France
1955-WV-Issue#1-3	American socialist icon opposed World War 1 died after prison (Debs)
1956-WV-Issue#2	Cypriots struggle for Independence
1956-WV-Issue#3	British suppress Kenya struggle for land
1956-WV-Issue#5b	Colonial Freedom Fight Tests Workers' Parties (Cyprus)
1956-WV-Issue#6	Ceylonese reject Imperialist Puppet
1956-WV-Issue#7-1	Mollet murdering Algerians, suppressing home opposition
1956-WV-Issue#7-2	Colonial Freedom betrayed by French workers' Leaderships *(Algeria)*
1956-WV-Issue#8-1	Editorial—Stop H-Bomb tests
1956-WV-Issue#8-2	Editorial-- (Canadian Army) Brass wants conscription
1956-WV-Issue#8-3	Opposition to French in Algeria grows – Language riots in Ceylon
***1956-WV-Issue#8-3*	*Poznan Workers revolt against Stalinist chiefs (Poland)*
1956-WV-Issue#10	Editorial – Hands off Egypt! Arab masses rally behind Egypt
1956-WV-Issue#11-1	Egypt runs own Canal—Imperialists paralyzed
1956-WV-Issue#12-1	No Canadian soldiers for Egyptian 'Korea'

***1956-WV-Issue#12*	*Mass revolt hits Hungary (Soviet Red Army occupation) Kremlin doomed (Russian) Bureaucrats attempt to smash Hungarian Workers' Committees*
***1956-WV-Issue#12*	*Vicious (Kuomintang) assault on Hong Kong Labour*
***1956-WV-Issue#13*	*Anti-Kremlin struggle continues in Hungary*
***1956-WV-Issue#14*	*Hungary fights on!--Radio Voice of the Hungarian Revolution*
***1956-WV-Issue#14*	*Gomulka makes deal with Church, (Hungarian) workers press for control*
1956-WV-Issue#14	US takes over from Britain & France—Threatens Arab Freedom Fight

1957

1957-WV-Issue#15	Gov't reveals Canadian people have no voice on war or peace
**1957-WV-Issue#16*	*The character of the Revolts sweeping thru Hungary & Poland*
1957-WV-Issue#16-1	Ottawa & U.S. give offical welcome to Guy Mollet, Butcher of Algerians
1957-WV-Issue#16-2	Graphic- 'Now, Mother, your child is perfectly safe –from polio'
1957-WV-Issue#18	World says NO! To H-Bomb tests
**1957-WV-Issue#19*	*Militant anti-imperialist struggle spreads throughout South America*
**1957-WV-Issue#19*	*Stop H-Bomb tests, aid colonial people (SEL electoral statement)*
1957-WV-Issue#20-1	Ottawa supports US State Dept'. opposition tyo H-Bomb Test Ban
1957-WV-Issue#20-2	British resort to torture to crush Cypriot struggle
***1957-WV-Issue#20*	*British unionists protest Hungarian terror (Red Army occupation)*
***1957-WV-Issue#20*	*Chinese workers press forward, Mao Tse-tung yields concessions*
1957-WV-Issue#22-1	H-Tests & Reactor imperils Cdns., Call a Halt—People Must Decide!
***1957-WV-Issue#22*	*Book on Hungarian Revolt – Fryer reviews Aptheker*
***1957-WV-Issue#23*	*Polish students fight for Freedom of Speech—Provoke mass response*
1957-WV-Issue#25-1	Governnment & House No say on war or peace 'My world or none!'

1958

1958-WV-Issue#26-1	NATO PACT TREMBLES
**1958-WV-Issue#27*	*Editorial—Petition Against H-Bomb! (RD)*
1958-WV-Issue#28-1	Vote for Peace and Freedom – Stop the H Bomb Tests, Break from NATO
1958-WV-Issue#30-1	Scientists cry halt to deadly H-Bomb tests
1958-WV-Issue#30-2	A participant reports 50-mile March to Aldermaston (Britain) bomb
**1958-WV-Issue#31*	*Editorial—Time for action against murderous H-Bomb tests*
**1958-WV-Issue#32*	*Editorial—No Nuclear Arms for Canada*
1958-WV-Issue#32	BC-CCF Urges break from NATO, for Retun to Socialist Policies
**1958-WV-Issue#33*	*Editorial-- Let the People Vote on Issue of War or Peace*
1958-WV-Issue#34	'War to the Palaces' in the Mid-East (Egypt, Iraq)

1959

+1959-*Toronto Star* :	*(adult, well-dressed)* Easter parade protesters in Toronto, March 29
1959-WV-Issue#38	Crown Witness confesses Kenya leader was framed (Jomo Kenyatta)
1959-WV-Issue#39	*Editorial—War still looms before us*
1959-WV-Issue#39	German, British action against A-Missile sites—BC Forum discusses military
1959-WV-Issue#41	Gov't Liars and Lies exposed on Strontium Fallout Perils – Stop tests at once
1959-WV-Issue#42-1	After Aldermaston success—what's next? In Britain
**1959-WV-Issue#43*	*Bomarc ('defence' missiles) shows need for new foreign policy –R.D.*
1959-WV-Issue#44	*British Labor rallies against H-Bomb policy*
1959-WV-Issue#45-1	US-USSR heads meet, Dief steps up (Canadian) arms (nuclear warheads)
1959-WV-Issue#45-2	Sask. CCF defeats top brass, opposes nuclear armament

**1959-WV Issue #46*	*Diefenbaker backs US in Laos, plot anther Korea? By R. Dowson*
1959-WV-Issue#47-1	Drops Civil Defence—Dief urges (bomb) Shelters
1959-WV Issue #47	*(note) Laos: Canadian ICC members charge US inflow (Intnl)*
1959-WV-Issue#49-1	Anti H-Bomb Petition sparks chain reaction (John Banon)

1960

1960-12Dec22	Flyer--Unite against the bomb! Meet at Civic Square & Liberal HQ
1960-WV #51	Photo; Toronto action part of worldwide protest over French A-Bomb test
**1960-WV #51*	*British PM shifts Africa policy as he sees Freedom Struggles*
1960-WV #54-1	US dumped summit, continues cold war
1960-WV #54	*Editorial-- Demand Canada break from NORAD-NATO Pacts*
1960-WV #55	*Japanese strike Blow for Peace (force cancellation Eisenhower visit)*
1960-WV#55	Strontium in Diet worse than milk
1960-WV #56	*Editorial—Let the People Vote on Issue of Nuclear Arms!*
1960-WV #56-1a	Cease backing NATO war pact – Rank & file demand that CCF
1960-WV #56-1b	Ban the Bomb painter fined – Photo picket Toronto fallout shelter
**1960-WV #57*	*UN Engineers Coup against Congolese (RD)*
1960-WV #57-1	Panel on fight against War at Winnipeg Woodsworth Club
1960-WV #57-2	Bring Canadian Forces Back Home from the Congo!
1960-WV #57-3	CCF Convention demands Canada break from NATO Military Pact
1960-WV #58	Hits opening of CD Shelter Hoax counter-demonstration in Vancouver
1960-WV #59-1	US Polaris Base in Britain sharpens differences in Brit Labour Party

1961

1961-04Apr1 '	Disarm or die!' (Nobel Peace winner) March for Peace at U. Of T.
1961-00 *(onfile)*	*Globe & Mail* photo: Survive in a nuclear attack—Build a family fallout shelter
1961-WV #61	WE SHOULD VOTE ON NUCLEAR ARMS says NDPer to 2000 in Vancouver
1961-WV #62	Anti-Bomb march across country – BC Labor urges unilateral disarmament
1961-WV #63	(New Party) Must take clear stand against war drive Break from NATO now!
**1961-WV#64*	*Make New Party force for peace; Break Canada from NATO*
1961-WV#64	Dispute in Laos (US intervention – International Comments)
1961-WV#65	No Support of NATO or OAS—Socialism the Issue-- (Hazen) Argue
1961-WV#66-1	(NDP) Fails to adopt Anti-War Policy after stormy two-day debate
**1961-WV #67*	*LET THE PEOPLE VOTE on question of Nuclear Warheads for Canada*
1961-WV #67	Shelter Drama falls on its face as Pickets Protest Nuclear Arms
**1961-WV #68*	*Edit—Take up West Coast Union's call for Nuclear arms referendum!*
1961-WV #68	Photo-800 students from Ontario & Quebec 73-hour Hiroshima Ottawa vigil

1962

1962-01Jan20	Unite against the bomb! Sunday demonstration to Unitarian Church
1962-04Apr28	YCND-CSND Membership rally, election of officers, plan NATO Ottawa protest
1962-04Apr9	Declaration to the Canadian Anti-war Movement by the YCND
1962-WV#71	Diefenbaker screens US role in Vietnam civil war (by C. Cotton)
1962-WV#73	*WE THE PEOPLE MUST VOTE, DECIDE ON NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADA*

1962-WV#75 US (nuclear bomb) Test Arguments uncovered as Fraud

*1962-WV#75 *(note) Laos – Another Korea? (International Comments)*

1962-WV#78 ECM, A-Bomb issues in British Labor Party

1963

1963-01Jan14-1 *Toronto Star clip*--Canada's A-arms Policy – Pickets for (PM) Pearson

1963-01Jan14-2 'Nuclear arms and Freedom of speech'– speech Rosedale NDY

1963-01Jan19a *Globe clip*- Nuclear Demonstrator pushed boy into path, cab driver testifies

1963-01Jan19b T*oronto Star columnist clip*-- 17 Ban bombers brought to justice

1963-01Jan25 NDP Youth letter announcing petition for a referendum on nuclear arms

*1963-WV#82 *Stop the Drive to Nuclear Arm Canada! NDP must rally the People!*

1963-WV#82-1 (PM) Pearson pressures for speed-up of arms race

1963-WV#82-2 Police crack down on anti-Bomb demonstrators Photo

*1963-WV#83 *NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADIANS (EDIT)*

1963-WV#83-1 NDP leader Douglas blasts US intervention (nuclear arms for Canada debate)

*1963-WV#84A *NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADA – WORK FOR, VOTE NDP*

*1963-WV#84A *EMOTIONAL ABOUT NUCLEAR ARMS? YOU BET! VOTE LIFE! VOTE NDP!*

1963-WV#84A Liberals in Red Smear to silence NDP on NATO stand (cartoon)

*1963-WV#84B *Tory-Liberal Bi-Partisan policy imperils all Canada—Vote NDP*

1963-WV#86 NDP is only hope to Stop Arms Race – A-Arms issue not dead

*1963-WV#86 *Algerian masses demonstrate their socialist aspirations (file)*

1963-WV#88-1 Gov't disavows test ban signature by signing Canada into Nuclear Club

*1963-WV#88 *Fourth International statement -- The Significance of the Test Ban*

1963-WV#90	Last call for Action against US A-Bomb on Canada Soil
1963-WV#91	Anti-Bomb Group Debates Policy, by R. Brock (DF)

1964

1964-WV#93	Montreal pickets protest Attacks on Peace Walkers
1964-WV#94	Editorial-- Keep Canadian Troops out of Cypriot Affairs!
1964-WV#96	*Edit: No troops for Vietnam! Withdraw from Cyprus!*
1964-WV#97	Dr. Spock (famous child doctor) speaks out on peace
1964-WV#98	*Edit: No Canadian support for US Southeast Asia policy!*
1964-WV#99	*Edit: No Canadian support for US in Vietnam!*
1964-WV#100-1	US blow at North Vietnam rouses world protests
1964-WV#100-2	The truth behind US State Dept charge of Vietnam aggression
1964-WV#104	Withdraw troops in Vietnam demands Toronto picket line

1965

1965-WV#106	Demonstrations across Canada protest US actions against N. Viet *Edit: Withdraw US troops; Self-determination for people of Vietnam*
**1965-WV#107*	*Edit: Speak out against US horror weapons; escalation in Vietnam* *(note)Across Country with the NDP (Vietnam)*
1965-WV#108-1	Worldwide protests against US in Vietnam
1965-WV#108-2	Algeria on Vietnam crisis *(info)BC-NDP resolutions including against US Vietnam aggression (on file)*
1965-WV#108-3	Cuba's Castro appeals for unity against US assault in Vietnam
1965-WV#108-4	Aid the Vietnam Revolution!
1965-WV#109	Photo story: US marches and teach-ins protest Vietnam war

	NDP leader Douglas denounces Ottawa's support of aggression
1965-WV#110	Stop war in Vietnam! Shout NDP delegates; Prairie teach-in, NDP picket
1965-WV111(Ins.)	The root causes of the war in Vietnam (Militant, SWP)
	(BC unionist) Urges Labor to ''Raise Hell over Vietnam"
1965-WV#112-1	Call for action against war in Vietnam Oct. 15-16
1965-WV#112-2	Rally lays basis for united front on Vietnam war
	Edit: Ottawa's guilt in Vietnam
1965-WV#113-1	The election issues: Canadian complicity in Vietnam
1965-WV#113-2	Photo story: Toronto teach-in of 6,000 on radio & TV
1966-WV#114	Edit: NDP in this election: fails to meet Vietnam issue
1965-WV#115-1a	Fourth International appeal
1965-WV#115-2a	How to end the Vietnam war

The Workers Vanguard

#1 Dec 1955

Adjourn Geneva Nothing Solved

By DAVID WILLIAMS

As we go to press, the Geneva meeting of the "Big Four" powers—the U.S., the Soviet Union, England and France—is about to end without agreement on any important issue. The question is already being asked; what has happened to the "Geneva spirit" created at last July's meeting of the "Big Four" heads of state.

In order to grasp the significance of the most recent foreign ministers conference and its failure to bring any concrete results on the main questions dividing East and West, we must understand the significance of the July conference. Last summer's Geneva Conference formalized a relaxation of the cold war that had been under way since the close of the Korean war. The conference produced no concrete agreements but created the so-called "Geneva spirit" whose main ingredients were declarations of peaceful intentions by President Eisenhower of the U.S. and Soviet Premier Bulganin's statement that he respected these declarations as "sincere."

The question might be raised: has the "Geneva spirit" come to an end?; has world imperialism under the leadership of Washington explored all the possibilities of "peaceful co-existence"? The Toronto Globe and Mail on Nov. 15, 1955, reports U.S. Secretary of State Dulles as saying "It is not the desire or the intention of the United States, so far as we can control it, to revert to the conditions which existed prior to the meeting of the heads of government last July."

WHO HAS CHANGED?

This protestation on the part of Dulles reflects the thinking of U.S. imperialism for the immediate period ahead. The "Geneva spirit" is not a result of a change in thinking on the part of the Soviet leaders in the Kremlin, as the capitalist press attempts to make out, but rather because of a change of thinking on the part of Washington and its allies.

Despite the public displays of mutual distrust by both sides, however, this foreign ministers' conference will, in all likelihood, reaffirm the "Geneva spirit" even if it arrives at no further tangible agreements.

U.S. imperialism is not ready to resume its open drive to war. It was blocked in this course by the upsurge of the colonial revolution —especially by the victory of the Chinese Revolution. In addition far reaching achievements in the field of production by the Soviet Bloc and its development of the H-bomb established a temporary military balance of power.

In the light of these developments world capitalism under the leadership of Wall Street, decided to make more thorough war preparations and to mask them behind a seeming desire to effect a peaceful settlement of the cold war. In the meantime, world capitalism is pushing ahead with its now longer-term war preparations behind the screen of the "Geneva spirit."

STILL PREPARE FOR WAR

The peacetime war budget of the Liberal Federal government at Ottawa remains at an all-time high of almost 1.8 billion dollars annually. General Motors' Wilson, in agreement with Eisenhower, cut into the very middle of the Geneva discussions with an anncuncement of a stepped up program of construction of inter-continental super bombers. West Germany and Japan are being rearmed against the will of their people while a frantic race for more destructive weapons of war is rendering the original A-bomb obsolete.

The Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin, for its part, is offering to betray working class and colonial struggles that may be under its influence in order to get a deal from imperialism. The Kremlin lives in mortal fear of any disturbances that would unsettle the status quo and threaten to end its parasitic rule on the backs of the Russian workers. But there is a large gulf separating the desires of the Kremlin for "peaceful co-existence," and its ability to meet the demands of imperialism in exchange for this. The second Geneva conference just ending demonstrates this to the hilt. The demands of the "Big Four" capitalist powers for a united and armed Germany within the North Atlantic military alliance if granted would greatly strengthen the strategic position of Wall Street and its partners in its continuing preparations for World War III.

"GENEVA SPIRIT" A HOAX

The "Geneva spirit" is a hoax perpetrated on humanity by the capitalist powers. This hoax is passed on as the real thing by the Kremlin overlords for their own narrow clique ends. The hypocritical smiles and honeyed words, which are the sum and substance of the "Geneva spirit," are nothing but a mask behind which American imperialism and its camp followers will carry on the next stage of the preparations for atomic annihilation of the human race.

The truth of the matter is that the only road to lasting peace remains the struggle of the Canadian and world working class for a socialist society where the economic causes of war will no longer exist. The stalemate which the Geneva Conferences point up is, of course, to be welcomed. It means that there is still time to inflict further defeats on capitalism on the way to the establishment of this new society.

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The Workers Vanguard #1 Dec 1955

Moroccan Freedom Fighters Rouse Solidarity In France

The flames of revolt in French North Africa are having their impact on the French working class. During the last three months there has been incident after incident of the French worker-in-uniform refusing to be used as a tool of imperialism; refusing to be used to smash, with bloody military suppression, the freedom struggles of the Moroccan and Algerian peoples.

Three hundred young reservists, called up for active duty because of the "North African crisis," gathered at the Ste. Severin church in Paris to voice their objection to being used against the Arab national liberation movements. Four hundred air force reservists shouting "Morocco for the Moroccans," refused to entrain for shipment to the troubled areas.

The city of Rouen was the scene of large scale fighting by soldiers, joined by civilians, against the French government's special strike breaking police called the C.R.S. These police, who are equipped like troops, were called in on October 6th to force a group of 500 army reservists into trucks which would take them on the first leg of their trip to North Africa.

Opposition has been growing in spite of rigid censorship of French press and radio reception. Aware of the effect the truth about its colonial policy would have on the French people, in the 12 months preceding October, the government banned complete issues of several different newspapers and instituted systematic jamming of broadcasts from Budapest and Cairo which defended the Arab people. One paper alone, La Verite, voice of the French Trotskyists, led the list with forced suspension of 12 issues.

The rising opposition is an indication that the French people are becoming aware of the falseness of French imperialism's claim that it is only "building" these colonies until they "are ready" for full status in the French Union. The fact is that the list of French capitalism's crimes against the Arab peoples is a long one.

Suppression has followed suppression until the Moroccan people have made open declaration of their intention to shape their own destiny, guns in hand. They are goaded by the fact that starvation, illiteracy, lack of franchise and rights to political or trade union organization, has been the lot of their 9,000,000 people while 4,200 French "colons" own 2½ million acres of their land. The French have all the rights and their annexation of the land inflicts cruel privations in this 90 per cent agricultural economy.

The militancy of the Moroccan people has forced French imperialism to make some concessions in order to continue their hold. On October 25th, the main quisling of Morocco, el Glaoui, declared for the return of the exiled, pro-nationalist Sultan ben Youssef who has wide popular support. Five days later, puppet Sultan ben Arafa, who recently quit the throne but held strings on the regency council set up in his place, squeaked his "me too" in support of the exiled sultan. But to the surprise of French officialdom new outbursts are taking place.

In Algeria French parasitism is much the same. Though the struggles of the Algerians have forced the French to institute a pretense of self government, eight million Arabs have equal representation with one million Europeans in the assembly. This insult has been rendered more odious by the fact that the French did not dare to let the Arabs even choose their own limited share of the representatives. Through open manipulation of the election, both through the parties allowed to be represented and the balloting, the French guaranteed that the Arab representation was well studded with their stooges.

The Arab peoples are fighting back and inspiring the support of French workers. The Ste. Severin meeting in Paris issued a declaration to the French people which is carried elsewhere on this page.

This solidarity between the French working class and their colonial brothers is shaking French capitalism at its roots. One of the reasons behind the inability of the French assembly to provide a stable and lasting government since World War II has been the colonial question. Just as the Arabs need the French worker to establish their self-determination, so they are providing the drive which could lead the French working class in its final battles with French capitalism.

"If Our Arms Tremble"

On Sept. 29, three hundred French soldiers from all branches of the service held a silent meeting in the Saint Severin Church in Paris to protest against being sent to North Africa. They distributed a leaflet from which we print the following excerpts. (Translated from La Verite, French Trotskyist newspaper.)

"Believers and unbelievers, Christians and Communists, Jews and Protestants, we join for peace and brotherhood in North Africa. . . .

"Our conscience tells us that this war we are forced to wage against our Moslem brothers . . . is a war contrary to all Christian principles [and] to the right of nations to determine their own fate . . . It is because this war goes against everything we learned during our youth, which was lived under a foreign occupation, that we know how odious it is when an army is imposed on a foreign people . . .

"We are not conscientious objectors. But if our arms tremble when firing on our Moslem brothers, then let all Frenchmen know it is because our conscience rebels.

"We do not call on soldiers to engage in individual disobedience of government orders, but let the French people know that if we obey we do so though death grips our soul. It is up to the French people to understand where its duty towards its own children lies and to act so as to end this war that dishonors us."

The Western Vanguard #1 Dec 1955

Anniversary Birth Of Eugene V. Debs

"While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." These words of Eugene V. Debs came from a great humanitarian, a man with immense compassion for the oppressed and exploited—but Debs was more than a humanitarian. He began life hating injustice—he died after fighting for 30 years for the abolition of capitalism; he began political life as a Democrat and ended his life a fearless exponent of World Socialism.

World-wide socialism had always opposed war. The actual arrival of World War I and the persecution of those who opposed it caused many peace-time socialists to become war-time patricts. Debs, however, remained true to his socialist convictions. He, with a hard core of socialists across the world, consistently denounced the war as an imperialist battle for colonies. The workers had nothing to gain and their lives to lose. In 1917, when hundreds of American socialists were being jailed for their stand on war, Debs began an anti-war tour of the United States. He was arrested and sentenced to prison for 10 years.

The American workers found that the post-war world was not a "better world to live in." Realizing that what Debs had said about the war was correct they gave him more votes in his presidential campaign, which he conducted from prison, than they had even done before. He polled 918,000 votes. He was released from prison in 1921 and died five years later.

Last month saw the 100th anniversary of his birthday. Millions of workers in the coming years will travel the road Debs did towards socialism. Like Debs they will learn from their experiences, testing and rejecting false solutions until it becomes clear to them that the socialist road is the only way. They will arrive far more swiftly than Debs to the same conclusions because he has already paved the way. By fighting for the same cause, socialism, we ensure that Debs' memory will live on.

A selection of important books that are available through the Toronto Labor Bookstore

Aneurin Bevan—Brome	$3.00
J. S. Woodsworth—MacInnis	$4.50
The Prophet Armed—Trotsky 1879-1921—Deutscher	$6.00
Bending Cross—Eugene Victor Debs—Ginger	$2.25
Left Right and Centre—Lens	$5.25
Trade Unions in Canada—Logan	$2.50
A Short History of the British Working Class Movement—Cole	$5.50
Economics for Beginners—Keracher	$ .10
Money and Money Reforms—Jelset	$ .25
America's Road to Socialism—Cannon	$ .35
Welfare State or Socialism—Preiss	$ .10
The Jungle—Sinclair	$1.95
The Iron Heel—London	$2.75
Germinal—Zola	$1.10
Fontamara—Silone	$1.00

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The Workers Vanguard #2 Jan 1956

CYPRIOTS STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

By VIRGINIA WILSON

"Enosis," union with Greece, is the cry thundering throughout Cyprus. Once a whisper among the island's Greek population, today it has become a roar. In an inspired nationalist upsurge, bishops, fervent terrorists, communists, even school children are unanimous in their demands.

The Greek Cypriots, who constitute over three-quarters of the island's 500,000 people, have declared their purpose to fight Britain until they achieve union with Greece. This is the significance of "Enosis." It has turned this Mediterranean isle 40 miles off the coast of Turkey into a centre of struggle between a colonial people and their imperialist rulers. After 77 years as a colony in the British Empire, Cyprus demands the right of self-determination, the right to unite with Greece. This Britain refuses to grant.

For centuries this situation has existed. For centuries the Cypriots have been shuffled from one power to another. Persians, Egyptians, Romans, Turks, and now the British are among the many con-

(Continued on back page)

CYPRIOTS STRUGGLE

(Continued from page 1)

querors who have held this island because of its strategic position. Never has it belonged to Greece though its population has remained predominantly Greek.

A Turkish possession for 350 years, in 1878 it was ceded to Britain in return for assistance in the Crimean War. In 1923 Britain confirmed her sovereignty over the island by a treaty with Turkey.

The island, a colony by status, at present doesn't even have a constitution. The British arrogantly lifted its constitution in 1931 when popular feeling erupted against them. The Cypriots refused a new one because it gave Britain control of a largely-appointed legislative assembly. More recently a second offer was turned down on the same grounds.

Although "Enosis" has always been a factor in Cyprus, recent harsh sedition laws have increased the feeling to explosive heights. Today it embraces almost all sections of the population.

One of the most influential and militant forces in the struggle to oust the British colonial rulers is the EOKA—the initial letters of a national organization of Cypriot fighters.

About 30 per cent of the Greek population is under the leadership of the Communist Party which wields considerable power in the trade union movement. For this reason the British have recently banned it. But the man who exercises the most influence in Cyprus is an archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church, Archbishop Makarios. He is spokesman for the vast majority of the population. Elected by popular vote he is both bishop of the people and Ethnarch, leader of the nation. He has stated, "No prisons, no exiles, not even death will deter our aims."

Why don't the British give in to this just demand of the Cypriot people? The reason is simple. Cyprus has a strategic value in its position in the Mediterranean. Britain is in a dilemma. Forced by the colonial peoples' uprisings to retreat in the Middle East, and particularly the Suez, she needs to consolidate her control over Cyprus. Cyprus is necessary as a base to fulfil her military requirements to NATO. It is a link in the imperialist powers' chain of posts encircling the Soviet Union. To date $84 million, money wrung from the impoverished British people, has been poured into military installations on Cyprus. Four thousand troops are maintained there permanently. Britain has declared she intends to hold Cyprus as long as she needs troops to maintain her holdings in the Middle East.

Britain's reply to Cypriot demands has been more and more repressive measures. Besides the 4,000-man permanent force, 8,000 additional troops have been sent out to quell the roused population. John Harding, British army chief-of-staff, has been foisted on the people as governor. All British forces have been placed on a war-time footing. The colonial rulers of Cyprus have arbitrarily decreed it an offence, punishable by death, to carry firearms, and have imposed life imprisonment as the penalty for certain acts they label "sabotage." All assemblies, including strike assemblies, are banned.

Most inspiring of all is the student's militant action in striking and battling British police. In retaliation the schools have been closed and whipping instituted as a means of punishment for male youths under 18.

Mere suspects are being detained without trial under "anti-terrorist" laws. In one mass arrest the Communist mayors of two large towns were imprisoned in this way. In another case, the entire population of a town was fined for the burning down of a post office. Until fines are paid the inhabitants are prevented from working by a curfew — a shocking instance of "mass guilt."

Such repressive measures have merely succeeded in increasing nationalist feelings. To date Britain has made one concrete offer that leaves the right to self-determination to some undefined future. The Cypriots have replied emphatically to this phony promise by heightening their struggle. They demand the right to self determination now. The slogan of EOKA has become, "Strike at the British wherever you find them." By their flagrant violation of a people's right to self-determination the British are stirring up more and more terrorist acts.

What is Greece doing about this situation? She has given verbal support to the Cypriots and brought the matter up in the UN. The United Nations, so hasty to express righteous indignation in the Korean War, has turned its back on Cyprus. In September it decided against putting Cyprus on its agenda for debate. The Greek government, a member of NATO along with Britain, has accepted this. She has refused to appeal the decision —has capitulated to British pressure.

Turkey, by means of the military alliance recently signed between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey, is also bringing pressure to bear. She was completely opposed to Cypriot demands at the recent three-power conference between Britain, Turkey and Greece. Though she set herself up as spokesman for the Turkish minority on the island, in reality the Turkish government was obeying British orders. Greece has capitulated while the British refuse to treat with the Cypriots themselves.

But Britain can't ignore the fact that the struggle is continuing, is growing. The Cypriot people have not given up but are fighting on to achieve their demands. As things now look Britain will be forced to retreat from here as she retreated from the Suez. Once again an imperialist power will be thrust back by an awakening colonial people.

The Workers Vanguard #3 Feb 1956

BR. SUPPRESS KENYA STRUGGLE FOR LAND

By VIRGINIA WILSON

"No corner or scrap of land in Africa has escaped hunger. This is a continent of the starving, all of it." These words from J. De Castro's book **Geography of Hunger** best describe Kenya. There, land and poverty are the basic issues. Shocking contrast is in evidence everywhere.

A tiny minority of 40,000 European settlers monopolize all the good land, the lush, fertile, highland area. To arid, over-populated reserves they have relegated 5 million Africans. Certain of these areas, scenes of disease and squalor, have an incredibly high population density.

The European, mainly British, settlers, were attracted by the richness of the Highland area. The British government, by a Land Ordinance in 1915, gave them the land, at the same time assigning the native population to reserves. British hopes for unreserved plunder have not been disappointed. Ranches and plantations in this sparsely settled region have flourished through exploitation of native laborers.

Today Europeans own from one third to one half of all Kenya's land and are fabulously wealthy. On the other hand since the influx of settlers at the turn of the century the native population has increased startlingly from 2.5 million to 5.2 million. With this increase the already overtaxed land became more and more densely populated. Even in originally fertile areas the soil has been ruined. With no land of their own many natives are forced to eke out a starvation wage on enormous estates of settlers under feudal-type conditions. It is this question of land that has fired the African peoples.

There are other factors, of course. In his letter from Kenya to the 1954 CCL convention Jim Bury, ex-member of CCL executive council and secretary of the Vancouver Labour Council, wrote: "The minimum wage for industrial workers, (and it very often becomes the maximum), is $7.00 a month. On $7.00 a month you can't exactly whoop it up—in fact, you are lucky if you can stay alive.

"You should see some of the workers' housing down here. Mud huts, 8 by 10 feet square, in habited by six or seven people. Of course, there is no compulsory education for Africans, and the government spends the huge sum of 64 cents a year on education for an African child. Here 40,000 Europeans elect 14 members to the Legislative Council while only six Africans sit in parliament -- and these are all appointed by the Governor."

In the struggle against such conditions the Kikuyu peoples are taking the lead. The Kikuyu are the largest and most advanced tribe in Kenya numbering about 1 million. Today they are in revolt against the British. Their revolt is part of a great movement for national liberation which has swept from Asia through the Middle East to all parts of Africa. In 1949 the Gold Coast nationalist movement won self-government. This success had a deep impact on the people of Kenya. The Kikuyu in particular began to struggle against the white exploiters. They demanded the land stolen from them.

Suddenly and without warning a scare campaign was launched against Mau Mau—non-existent organization. Arbitrarily the British closed down the entire Kikuyu press. Denouncing the Kikuyu schools—built by the natives themselves at great personal sacrifice—as "hot-beds of nationalism," they shut them all down. Against the unarmed, disenfranchised population they proclaimed martial law—29,000 British troops and armed police went into action against the natives.

Just who are these Mau Mau? The name itself is unknown in the Kikuyu language. In reality it was invented by the white newspapers of Kenya. As it exists today it is the revolutionary wing of African independence which is dedicated to drive out the British. Realizing the hopelessness of passivility against such repressive measures, the most militant natives fled to the hills and forests and prepared to fight for freedom with their crude weapons.

Far from being a "relapse into barbarism" they have taken the only road possible—that of forceful resistance. This the British have imposed on them. The "Mau Mau," it may be added, are supported by almost the entire native population.

In the name of emergency against the "Mau Mau" the British have perpetrated all kinds of crimes against the African population. They have outlawed the political organization of the Kikuyu, the Kenya Africa Union, and framed and jailed its leaders including Jomo Kenyatta. In a campaign of extermination General Sir Alexander Cameron gave settlers the following advice: "It was not good enough to kill one or two in a gang of 20. All must be killed or captured. Shoot straight and hit with the first shot."

The threat of extermination of the cheap native labor became so great that the British colonial office had to step in to keep the white settlers in hand. More recently the British have instituted a "rehabilitation program" for some 70,000 Kikuyu. To be more realistic, they have forced thousands into barbed wire concentration camps where they subject them to brain-wash treatment.

The youthful trade-union movement has also come under fire. In a revealing report to the British TUC and ICFTU Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor, wrote: "It has been almost impossible to do any constructive trade-union work in view of the constant arrest of trade union leaders."

Labor is now the victim of British imperialism in Kenya. Officials are deliberately exploiting the so-called "Mau Mau" emergency to paralyze and eventually wipe out the 50,000-member Kenya Federation of Labor. With members being beaten up for holding cards, with workers afraid to participate actively in the trade unions, afraid of detention camps, the struggle in Kenya has reached new heights.

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THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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Colonial Freedom Fight Tests Workers' Parties

By VIRGINIA WILSON

The British are at a standstill in Cyprus. Force and more force is the only answer they see to their dilemma. But so far, violence and oppression have failed to break the spirit of the Cypriots, have failed to make them renounce their purpose of uniting with Greece. In spite of the exiling of Archbishop Makarios, in spite of offers of fabulous rewards to informers, in spite of such brutal acts as collective punishments and the murder of a seven-year-old boy, the Greek Cypriots are standing firm in their just and simple demand for self-determination.

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS

In a recent debate which ended in a motion of censure, the British Labour Party expressed its opposition to the Eden government policy in Cyprus. Aneurin Bevan, leader of the left wing of the British Labour Party, surprisingly appeared as the party's official spokesman on colonial affairs. He stated that the heart of the matter was whether Britain was anxious to have Cyprus as its military base or whether it merely wanted a base on Cyprus. He reasoned that unification of Cyprus with Greece would still supply Britain with the strategic bases that she required.

Suggesting that Britain has some right to such bases he went on to state: "The ambitions of the Cypriots could be satisfied within the framework of the western alliance's strategic necessities. For the life of us we can't understand why it is that negotiations have failed."

What has the Communist party, the self-styled leader of the oppressed peoples, done on this crucial question? In Cyprus the Communist-dominated Federation of Labor called upon the Greek workers to end their inspiring general strike. The workers ignored the advice. The Soviet press has also had something to say on the situation. While it denounced the US as feigning sympathy for the Cypriots, it has been interpreted by Western observers as being not at all unfavorable to continued British rule of the island.

While the struggle on the tiny island of Cyprus continues to rage, across the Mediterranean in North Africa a similar situation is unfolding. In Algeria the Arab population is heightening its struggle against French domination and demanding national independence. At present the Moslem population, which is nine million in number as compared to one million French, is not considered a nation but part of France.

As in Cyprus this fight in Algeria for self-determination is characterized by extremely brutal

(Continued on page 3)

Colonial Peoples' Struggle Test of Workers' Parties

(Continued from page 1)

repression on the part of the French imperialists who have slaughtered and confined thousands of Arabs.

On the question of national independence in Algeria, the Communist Party of France has taken a firm stand. In four confidence votes in the National Assembly designed to give Premier Mollet emergency powers to crush the nationalist uprising in Algeria, the Communist Party deputies voted for the government. Among other things they approved giving the Minister of Algerian Affairs, Robert Lacoste, the right to censor the Algerian press and the power to impose the death penalty on deserters who go over to the Algerians.

Jacques Duclos, leader of the French CP justified his action by stating, "Communists favor permanent political, economic and cultural links between France and Algeria."

What stand should socialists take on this issue of self-determination? In Cyprus the question as to whether the British should have a fully controlled base or a base leased from Greece is decidedly not the heart of the matter. Of real significance for socialists is the fact that the British imperialists are oppressing the people of Cyprus, and refusing their just demand for union with Greece.

The British Labour Party should denounce imperialism which, far from helping colonial peoples, denies them even the elementary right of self-government. They should demand withdrawal of British troops from all foreign bases and demand that the Cypriots be allowed to freely determine their own political destiny.

What have socialists to say on this question of strategic necessities? Eden himself has stated that Britain cannot carry out her obligations to NATO and the Baghdad Pact unless British forces have "sure and unfettered use of Cyprus." Socialists understand the nature of these alliances and oppose them as being part of a world-wide encirclement of the Soviet Union in preparation for a future war. Cyprus may be strategically necessary to British imperialists but certainly not to the world working class and a socialist Britain. A socialist Britain would establish economic relations with those countries that capitalist Britain now enslaves on the basis of free association and mutual benefit.

On the question of Algeria, the French Communist Party justified its shocking stand by declaring that support for Mollet is necessary to "bar the road against Fascism." Has this argument any real weight behind it? It is true that the fascist elements in France, the Poujadists, have made advances lately. But Duclos' policy is precisely the way to strengthen them by uniting with Mollet who supports the capitalist class and by offering no dynamic leadership to the radical workers.

Is there any validity in the argument that support for the Arab independence movement means support for the native landowners and capitalists and not the poor peasants and city workers? Completely the reverse is true. If the demands of the Algerian nationalist movement are not achieved and if the struggle is kept alive, the Arab masses will direct their efforts more and more against the foreign oppressors. They will be unable to carry on their struggle for a time against their own oppressors, the landowners and native capitalists, and be forced to unite against the chief enemy. As long as the French remain in Algeria and continue their exploitation they merely increase the national character of the struggle and prevent the Algerian masses from dealing with their own oppressors.

It is clear that the only position for socialists is solid support for colonial peoples in their struggle for the right of self-determination. With a world-wide movement behind them these peoples will achieve their demands sooner

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Ceylonese Reject Imperialist Puppet

A smashing election defeat has not only sent Ceylon's capitalist class reeling but has brought consternation to the US State Department. In three days of voting the people of that Southeast Asisan country repudiated the US-backed government of Sir John Kotelawala and put into office a neutralist reform coalition pledged to nationalizations of foreign-owned tea and rubber plantations and to a break with Anglo-American foreign policy.

Leader of the United Peoples Front, which won the election and will form the new cabinet, is Solomon Bandaranaike, a wealthy landowner and intellectual, who campaigned on a platform of making Sinhalese the only official language, elimination of British air and naval bases on Ceylon, establishing relations with the Soviet Union and China, making Ceylon a Republic—possibly taking it out of the British Commonwealth—and nationalization of foreign-owned plantations.

The United Peoples Front is composed of three groups plus individual politicians who jumped on the bandwagon. First and most important is Bandaranaike's own party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, which has been the second largest party in parliament and therefore the official opposition party. This is a capitalist party like Nehru's Congress Party in India. It is nationalist and neutralist. Its chauvinism toward Ceylon's Tamil minority was shown by its "Sinhalese-only" language plank.

Second element in the United Peoples Front is a Buddhist party, led mostly by monks, and using a name which translates to "Language Front." As its name indicates its main plank is to make Sinhalese the country's only official language despite the fact that only 70 per cent of the population is Sinhalese.

The third component of the coalition has been falsely described as a "Trotskyist party" by the Canadian press. In actuality, this small group known in Ceylon politics as the Phillip Goonewardeen group, split from the Lanka Sama Samaja (Trotskyist) Party many years ago. Its opportunist politics have led it from flirtations with Stalinism to the position it has today—two portfolios in a bourgeois cabinet.

In contradistinction the Trotskyist LSSP has refused to become immersed in the reactionary communalist frenzy which has pitted Sinhalese against Tamil, religion against religion, and caste against caste. Campaigning on a program of class struggle, it made tremendous gains and emerged from the election as the second largest party in the house and therefore the official opposition.

Two of the leading spokesmen of the LSSP are Colvin de Silva and Dr. N. M. Perera. Imprisoned during the war for their unyielding demands for Ceylon's independence and their denunciation of the imperialist slaughter, they escaped to carry on their socialist work from India. After the war they and others were elected to Ceylon's parliament. De Silva played an important role in the Hartal (general strike) of 1953, Perera was mayor of Colombo, Ceylon's largest city.

The LSSP stood for abolition of English as the official language since that is the language imposed on the country by the former British rulers and is spoken only by the small upper class and sections of the middle class with formal education. Instead of "Sinhalese-only," it called for making both Sinhalese and Tamil official languages with equal status.

LSSP speeches and papers hammered on the theme that unemployment meant the same in both languages, that the price of food was no lower whether it was asked for in Sinhalese or Tamil, that it was the socialist duty of the Sinhalese majority (70 per cent) to respect Tamil minority rights, as it was the Tamil workers' duty to reject chauvinist plans of secession to join India. The LSSP's long and heroic record of struggle against imperialism, its yeoman work in organizing unions and fighting for the welfare of the peasants, its well-remembered role as leaders of the great Hartal, as well as its able campaigning served to bring the workers of both nationalities to their senses.

Though Ceylon is a small country—it is almost as big as Ireland and has three times as much population — it is strategically and politically important. Its complete rejection of Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala, the darling of US and British imperialism, has already had a profound influence in Asia. Kotelawala was denounced during the campaign for his role at the Bandung Conference where he served US imperialism by his attacks on Communist China. Secretary of State Dulles tried to build up Kotelawala's prestige by visiting Ceylon in the midst of the election campaign.

Kotelawala called the elections when the communalist frenzy was at its height in the hope of riding back to power on the "Sinhalese-only" issue.

The standing in the new house is — United People's Front, 51; Lanka Sama Samaja Party, 14; al Party, 8; Communist Party, 3; Tamil Party, 1; Independents, 8. Federal Party, 10; United Nation-

(article ends)

The Workers Vanguard

#7 June 1956

Mollet Govt Murdering Algerians Suppressing Opposition At Home

The French government, alarmed by the increasing opposition in France to its bloody policy in Algeria, is now pursuing a policy of repression in France itself. The French people's opposition to the war is not only based on support of the Algerian demands for independence, but also on the fact that the French working class is paying for the war. A wage freeze, tax increases and the dead French soldiers are a high price for the preservation of Algeria for the mining companies and landowners.

In St. Nazaire 5,000 people, chanting Peace in Algeria, fought with 1,000 club-swinging gendarmes and succeeded in halting 200 reservists from reporting for duty in Algeria. In St. Gervais 100 demonstrators delayed a train carrying reservists. These are only two of numerous similar incidents.

On a troop ship sailing into an Algerian harbor recently, 100 French soldiers massed on the deck demanding demobilization. Call-ups of reservists in France have met with strong opposition from rank and file members of the Socialist and Radical parties, partners in Mollet's coalition. Mendes-France in a maneuver designed to left flank Mollet, has resigned from the cabinet.

Reservists being sent to Algeria threw a grenade at the train, fired pistols and persistently stopped the train by pulling the brake cord and uncoupling the coaches. Thousands of Algerian workers have struck and demonstrated all over France.

The Mollet government has responded by mass arrests of Algerian workers. Claude Bourdet, editor of the liberal magazine **France Observateur**, and Daniel Renard, editor of the revolutionary socialist paper **La Verite**, have been arrested. An issue of **La Verite** has been seized and police have raided their print shop and smashed the type. Four socialists, guilty only of subscribing to **Resistance Algerienne**, the paper of the National Liberation Front, have been arrested. A $300 fine has been slapped on **Le Libertaire**, an anarchist weekly. Two French printers and two Algerians have been arrested in Paris for printing **La Voix du Peuple**, the paper of the Mouvement National Algerien, which is illegal. The leader of this group, Messali Hadj, has been sent to Belle-Isle off the coast of Brittany —formerly a penal island—and is being held there incommunicado.

In Algeria itself mass murder is taking place. According to French army communiques approximately 100 rebels have been killed every day in the past few months. Rebel losses since the outbreak of the liberation struggle in November, 1954 number 48,000 dead and 24,000 prisoners.

The Algerian people want independence. Nothing less will satisfy them. The partisans are supported by the majority of the population. Its army is growing by desertions from the French army—several hundred among the Moslem troops. It even collects taxes in Algiers and elsewhere.

As in Morocco and Tunisia the French minority are siphoning off the wealth of the country. They control the richest mineral resources. In Algeria they own 37 per cent of the land which includes 75 per cent of the high grade land. Average annual income for farmers is £1500 for the French and £25 for the Arab.

French refusal to grant independence to Algeria is blocking their plans to build a solid alliance with Morocco and Tunisia who have recently been granted their independence. The Moroccans and Tunisians will not co-operate with the French as long as the Algerian slaughter continues. The Moroccans, in fact, are now accused of harboring Algerian partisans and aiding them with supplies.

MOLLET

The capitalist countries are helping France openly. The US is supplying helicopters, observation planes and bombers. By sending troops to Europe through NATO, Britain, the US and Canada allow France to withdraw troops and send them to North Africa. Switzerland has taken special measures to prevent Algerians residing in Switzerland from enrolling in the rebel army in North Africa. The Belgian government has sold helicopters to the French cutting its tourist services to do so.

The Workers Vanguard #7 June 1956

Colonial Freedom Stand Betrayed By French Workers' Leaderships

By LOU MARSH

Guy Mollet, leader of the Socialist Party of France, is the head of a government that is murdering and imprisoning Algerians who are struggling for their independence. He, and the Socialist Party deputies who support him, were elected by the French workers on a program of peace in Algeria.

But today Algeria is in the grip of a bloody war that mounts in horror and destruction. The leaders of this government are not only selling out the French working class that voted them into power. They are selling out the very party they supposedly represent.

Leading members of the Algerian federations of the Socialist Party sent a letter in May to the Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party. It said in part: "The policy which the government is following since February 6 is one which fills us with bitterness and anxiety . . . the unfortunate Moslem population of the Constantine region and of Kabylia, most of which still trusted the Socialist Party . . . are exposed to a campaign of extermination.

"The party took a position on the Algerian question at its last National Congress. Neither its ministers nor its Executive Committee had the right to deliberately act against its will, and to ignore its decisions . . .

"If the party should refuse to listen to us, it would only remain for us to disavow publicly, and by all means we may find useful, an insane policy which would forever discredit the party and its public figures."

The opportunistic leadership of the French Socialist Party, governing in a coalition with the capitalist Radical Party, is not using its power to obtain peace in Algeria in the only way peace can be obtained—by granting the Algerian people independence. Rather it slaughters the Algerian people and betrays the French working class in one of the rottenest sell-outs in the history of the socialist movement.

The Duclos leadership of the Communist party of France is no better. It has attempted to join the coalition but has been rejected. It was a part of the previous coalition that carried the fight against the Algerian people. It has supported and voted for arms expenditures and the sending of troops against the Algerians. It supported the bill that gave the government unlimited "special powers" under which it has been seizing newspapers and imprisoning French supporters of the Algerian struggle.

These two parties are achieving for capitalism what the capitalists could not do for themselves. To quote the New York Times correspondent in Paris: **"On the Right, there is widespread belief that only a Socialist-led cabinet can muster a majority for the unpopular military measures that the Right approves."** (April 23.)

Mauriac, the French Catholic writer for L'Express, asks the question "What is a socialist government? Today we know it is a government that does dirty work of a kind that would not be tolerated if a right-wing government attempted to do it." In stating this he not only states the truth about the Mollet government but he smears the world socialist movement.

DUCLOS

In playing the role of hatchet man for the capitalists Mollet has made socialist a synonym for hypocrite and murderer.

The CCF is a member of the Second International of which the French Socialist Party is also a part. Unless it takes a stand repudiating Mollet's actions Canadian workers can only assume that Mollet's actions are endorsed by the movement.

It is time that socialists across the world made it clear that Mollet is not a socialist and that the world's socialists identify themselves completely with the heroic struggles of the Algerian people.

The Workers' Vanguard

#8 July 1956

STOP H-BOMB TESTS

AN EDITORIAL

During a visit to Ottawa on May 19th Field Marshall Montgomery declared that an atomic war "would create the most frightful destruction to millions of people." He readily agreed that, if a global conflict did break out, "there would be nothing more left to civilization than a bob-tail cat."

Science has clearly outlined the horrible future to be expected in the advent of a thermo-nuclear war. But a startling and immediate danger is that presented by recent thermo-nuclear tests. World scientists have attempted to point out the risks of excessive radiation on living and unborn generations in the face of attempts on the part of ruling circles to minimize the danger arising out of H-Bomb tests.

In a report of June 12th the British Medical Research Council considers that nobody is likely to be hurt externally from fallout resulting from nuclear weapon tests, but **internal** damage may be caused by a component of nuclear bomb fallout called radiostrontium "which is beginning to accumulate in the bone." Among the ill effects cited were bone tumors and irremedial diseases of the bone marrow and blood cells such as aplastic anaemia and leukemia.

The US National Academy of Sciences, accepting the continuation of H-Bomb test explosions, recommended, on June 12th, major precautions to meet the threat caused by increased exposure to radiation in this atomic age.

It warned that radiation from any sources—bombs, nuclear reactors, X-rays or natural environment—is often harmful to life. The Academy said that any intensified testing of weapons beyond

(Continued on page 3)

Stop H-Bomb Tests cont. . .

the present rate would increase the genetic hazard and might bring the strontium hazard to the critical point throughout the world.

Research in the South Pacific showed that 13 months after the first hydrogen bomb test at Bikini in 1954 the contaminated water mass of the Pacific Ocean at the scene of the explosion had spread over 1 million square miles.

Two days after the March 1, 1954 test, the radioactivity of the surface water near Bikini was observed to be "a million times greater than the naturally occurring radioactivity." At the end of 13 months, the radioactivity had been reduced, but could be detected 3,500 miles from the source.

On June 19th Health Minister Martin stated that "the Canadian Government has no say in whether nuclear weapons tests are carried out." He was replying in the commons to Erhart Regier (CCF, Burnaby-Coquitlam) who aske odn whose authority radioactive rain fell on Vancouver Island about a week ago. Since then radioactive rain has fallen in Australia.

What Martin really meant was that the Canadian government does not want to press for a halt to thermo-nuclear tests—although Canada, as a member of NATO, presumably has a full voice in its decisions.

But those who rule Canada, and their lackeys in parliament, have no wish to call a halt to development of atomic weapons. Canadian capitalists, as members of the western imperialist camp, see the very foundations of their system crumbling. They would just as soon face the possible destruction of humanity as face the loss of their power.

Viscount Montgomery sees the end of civilization with another global war. Yet he further stated that if he were head of allied forces in Europe he would not wait for approval from his "political bosses" before ordering nuclear attack. He would let hell break loose at the slightest suggestion of aggression. He says this in the face of the fact that the USSR is decreasing arms production, is withdrawing troops from Germany, and is admittedly directing her atomic research increasingly into the realm of pure science.

First, thermo-nuclear tests, then war — this is the future if the bosses remain in control too long. When the hour comes they will shut their eyes and plunge the world into the abyss as they have done before.

But there are other forces—forces that demand a halt to all future tests of atomic weapons—forces that demand control of their future. Humanity refuses to accept the grisly future offered by capitalism. It seeks to complete the science that brought us the atomic age by introducing the science of planned economy on a world-wide scale.

This fundamental drive, registered in preliminary upheavals throughout the colonial world in the past decade, will surely find expression in the not distant future in the advanced countries. And that will mean the end of capitalism and the opening of the era of enduring peace and unlimited abundance that atomic energy holds in store.

In this fateful contest we think socialism will win. Victory will be assured, we think, when it becomes crystal clear to the majority what the alternatives mean to the world. Only socialism will prevent a third world war and the atomic destruction of humanity.

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Brass Wants Conscription

During the last few months, Lieutenant-General Simmons, with the wholehearted support of the Dominion Command of the Canadian Legion and important sections of the press, has been carrying on a campaign for conscription.

To this bitter pill the former chief of the Canadian General Staff has been smoothly applying several coats of sugar in order to make it more acceptable to the Canadian people. For instance, Simmons tells the youth who are in their later years of high school or going to college that they will not have to do their year or two of military training at any definite age. They can do it any time between the ages of 17 and 25. Isn't that a generous concession?

Simmons next turns his attention to Quebec. The first thing that he warns is "don't use the ugly word conscription which has unhappy associations in Quebec."

General Simmons feels that the resistance to military service among French Canadians is a fallacy, that is, as long as you don't use "that ugly word conscription."

The general outlines his plans for 16 year olds. These plans include compulsory military youth camps at the end of the high school year. The general says "discipline is a virtue." Then just in case anyone got the wrong impression about his plans for Canadian youth he hastily adds that discipline "does not mean marching people up and down like the Hitler youth."

The ex-staff chief suggests the best way to get the things started is to have a national registration of manpower. This would give the army brass and the capitalist politicians a picture of what cannon fodder is available and would be a further step in the regimentation of the Canadian people.

And in case you feel left out, being over 25, don't worry, Simmons hasn't forgotten you. You can still join the regular army. If you can't quite see your way to that, there is still what Simmons calls "compulsory part-time service in civilian defense to advance Canada's preparedness for war."

Of course, we must remember that these are just the initial plans of the brass hats to discipline and regiment Canadian people and economy for war.

Field Marshal Montgomery, the deputy commander of the West's forces in Europe, and a good friend of Simmons, had this to say: "There is a great need for disciplined people you can put your hands right on."

This is the aim of world capitalism—disciplined robots with which to carry out its plans for thermo-nuclear war.

The Workers Vanguard #8 July 1956

FRANCE

The Syrian government has made permanent its ban on shipments of grain and grain products to France and Algeria in protest against France's slaughter of the Algerian freedom fighters. Egyptian dockers at Port Said on June 10th refused to unload a French freighter's cargo.

In France the government headed by the so-called socialist, Guy Mollet, is in difficulties. Opposition to the "dirty war" in Algeria has been steadily mounting at home. On June 5th Mollet eked out a vote of confidence with less than half the Assembly voting for him. Contrary to their position of three months ago when they voted for Mollet's bloody course in Algeria, the Communist Party deputation of 144, along with most conservatives, abstained.

The Stalinist deputies' abstention from open endorsation of Mollet's policy—at the same time an abstention from denunciation of French imperialist terror—is a small concession to the aroused CP membership and the working class in general. The CP chiefs have had to OK mass meetings, strikes, and demonstrations. Protest actions by workers and soldiers have been so numerous that according to the June 6 NY Times "Communist militants at the party base find it increasingly difficult to understand how their leaders in the party and in parliament can continue to support the Mollet government."

The reason that the French Stalinists will not break with Mollet is that unity with him is decreed by Khrushchev and the other Kremlin chiefs. The policy of "peaceful co-existence" envisages a world status quo agreement between the Soviet bureaucracy and US, British and French imperialism. That means Stalinist guarantees for imperialist holdings in the colonial world.

In the meantime the government continues to repeatedly seize issues of the revolutionary socialist press **La Verite** which has a long record of support of the colonial revolution. Issues of the anarchist **Le Libertaire**, the liberal **France Observateur**, the Stalinist **L'Humanite**, have been suppressed. Prominent individuals are being thrust in jail, are under arrest or police investigation.

CEYLON

RIOTING IN CEYLON over the language question has resulted in deaths, arson and looting. This is the fruit of the communalist (i.e. playing off racial and religious communities in the country against one another) policy followed by the United Peoples Front, headed by SWRD Bandaranaike in the recent elections. His campaign mixed in with anti-imperialism and liberalism a large dose of chauvinism for the Sinhalese-speaking majority of Ceylon. In this he had support of a party led by Buddhist monks and a "leftist" group headed by Philip Gunawardene. The Trotskyist LSSP, which won second place in the elections, opposed communalism, urged solidarity of the Sinhalese and the Tamil-speaking minority. Its program called for making both Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of Ceylon. Prime Minister Bandaranaike's attempt to pass a law making Sinhalese the only official language called forth passive resistance demonstrations by Tamils which were soon met with mob action by chauvinist Sinhalese. The LSSP is calling for solidarity of workers and peasants of all races, religions and languages to stop the rioting.

Conference Agents Visit Nasser
Arab Masses Rally Behind Egypt

By J. JENNINGS

The London conference has come to a close. The spokesmen of British and French Imperialist interests, while still making ominous threats of military assault on Egypt, have somewhat moderated their actions.

Just a few weeks ago, 1200 paratroopers in full battle dress, left England for the Mediterranean and preparations were afoot to airlift the 3rd Infantry division. The War Office had announced possible withdrawal of the 15,000 troops of the 2nd Infantry division from West Germany, the Queen announced a state of "great emergency," and army reservists were called up. The same threatening gestures were made by France, and the US 6th Fleet steamed into the Mediterranean.

Now a five-man body will present the imperialist demands of the London conference to Premier Nasser. Nasser rejected an invitation to the conference which he challenged was an attempt at "collective colonialism" and interference in matters of Egyptian sovereignty. The five will present the demands that Egypt submit to Big Power control of her canal and that Nasser agree to negotiate a convention on this premise. Nasser is reported to have said that such a proposal "would be like trading one kind of colonialism for another." He has signified his desire to negotiate a convention which would give international shipping use of the canal, but Egypt refuses to have her waters under the control of foreign agents.

The power of the Arab national liberation movement, personified by Egypt in this instance, has forced a partial retreat of Imperialist spokesman Dulles. He of the "massive retaliation" has commented "This is not a conference through which to deliver any kind of ultimatum to Egypt. None of us would, for a moment, entertain that purpose."

The mass support of the Arab peoples behind Egypt's nationalization of the Suez canal has created divisions in the imperialist front. Ten to 15 million Arab workers threaten strike in 10 Middle East nations. The call for the strike was launched at a tumultuous meeting held in Cairo early this month by the Organization of struggle for Liberation of Moslem Peoples.

The enthusiasm for the general strike call registers the flaming desire of the Arab peoples for an end to imperialist domination of their homelands. It is the latest instance of ever-growing Arab support for Egypt, against threats of a Korea-type police action by the Western Big Three. It also expresses the justified anger of the Arab masses over the conference called by foreign capitalist governments to control the Suez canal which is Egyptian property, and which lies entirely on Egyptian soil.

A new Egyptian National Liberation Army has been proclaimed. It will include the national guard, volunteers of both sexes between the age of 18 to 50, and youth battalions composed of all Egyptian university students.

Mass demonstrations in support of Egypt are taking place all through the Middle East. Typical of this was the 4,000 strong demonstration in the British protectorate of Kuwait in the Persian Gulf. Iraq, which is aligned with Britain in the Baghdad Pact, has announced its solidarity with Egypt along with all the other Arab states. Petroleum workers in Syria threaten to stop the flow of oil that crosses Syria from Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

The rising militancy of the people of Egypt has roused the spirits of the Algerian and Moroccan freedom fighters. Egypt's fight for the Suez is just another step in the struggle of the Arab people for self-determination. This was underlined by French Defence Minister Bourges-Maunoury when he screeched, to a recent French meeting, that North African nationalism "must be destroyed in the Egyptian egg."

Their Real Target

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● HANDS OFF EGYPT! ●

Secret chief-of-staff consultations, threatening bellicose statements by all the spokesmen and hangers-on of British, French and American imperialism, have met the Egyptian government's actions to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. Britain and France have slapped controls on all Egyptian assets within reach. Through freezing all her sterling balances, Britain has, in effect, placed an economic blockade on all Egyptian foreign trade.

After deploying their entire arsenal of economic and political blackmail, the imperialists charge the nationalization is "illegal." But the company is an Egyptian company—full compensation has been assured. Since Egypt wants the revenues from the canal, the expressed "fears" that she might block traffic are sheer hypocrisy.

Waving the big stick, US Secretary of State Dulles is holding the door open to Nasser to pull back from the actions "purporting to nationalize" the canal. Refused aid for the Aswan Dam, Nasser says the $100 million annual income that went to foreign shareholders will permit Egypt to go it alone on the dam. He is under the gun of the land hungry, poverty stricken Egyptian peoples whose problems his government has proven unable to solve. Whether Nasser will stand up before the imperialist blackmail has yet to be seen—it is certain that in this action he has not only the solid support of the Egyptian peoples but of all the Arab and the colonial peoples in the world.

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD #11 Oct. 1956

Egypt Runs Own Canal Imperialists Paralyzed

By VIRGINIA WILSON

The imperialist drive to foist continued exploitation on the Egyptian people has been described by President Nasser as, "International thuggery, provocation and threats." The Suez crisis has **clearly revealed the dilemma into which the awakening colonial peoples have driven their would-be masters.**

Pushed back again and again by blows from the Asian and African masses and terrified by their long struggle with Cypriot and Algerian freedom fighters, Britain and France at first threatened to force Egypt into submission rather than endanger their already waning oil interests by losing control of the Suez.

The Arab world was quick to express solidarity with Egypt. Jordan's chief of staff, Major-Gen. Nuwar, as a spokesman for Arab feeling, stated: "The Arabs have reached a point at which they say, 'Let us prove now our right to live as free people or go down fighting for it'." At the same time the imperialists' schemes to rob Egypt of her sovereign rights by so-called "international control" met with firm opposition from the millions of India, Ceylon, the Soviet Union, and China. Most crushing of all for cornered British and French exploiters, the US threw cold water on their plans for answering Egypt with violence. Grudgingly the matter has been referred to the UN.

Despite deliberate misrepresentation, the issue is a clear and simple one. Egypt, as an independent nation, has nationalized a formerly British owned canal on her own territory. It is indisputable that as a sovereign state she had every right to do so.

What charge is to be laid against Egypt on the floor of the UN? Nasser, the imperialists allege, has destroyed the international character of the canal by nationalization, and has thus broken the Constantinople convention of 1888. (This treaty ensures all user nations that the waterway will always be open to international shipping.)

The whole issue is a mere smokescreen fabricated to create the illusion that, in breaking her contract with the privately owned Suez Canal Company, Egypt also broke the international treaty. The two questions are completely separate —whether the waterway is nationalized or privately owned has nothing to do with the promise of free use of the canal. Egypt has agreed to keep the canal open to world shipping and is presently proving her words by concrete action.

The imperialists have followed provocation with provocation. In an effort to prove that Egypt cannot run the canal — deliberately bribing its pilots with three years pay in order to pull them off the job — the Suez Canal Company hoped to leave Egypt without the skilled help to carry on. Then, as Egypt struggled against a shortage of pilots, the ex-owners sent an increased number of ships through the canal expecting to block shipping and justify their threat of force.

Most flagrant of all, the imperialists came up with a plan for a "canal users' association." By this provocative act the imperialists aimed to literally take over the Suez by collecting dues, employing pilots, and generally performing all the functions of the newly nationalized company. Egypt was to receive a small return for allowing this organization to force its way through her territory.

NASSER

Despite all this the canal is still open to international traffic and continues in efficient operation.

Many altruistic words have been uttered on behalf of international control. It is wrong, the imperialists say, for one nation to selfishly operate an international waterway.

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Egypt Runs Own Canal Imperialists Paralyzed

(Continued from page 1)

In reality the canal has never been an international one but a British possession.

Dorothy Thompson in her column, gave some interesting facts on what the British used to think: "In 1885 when the powers met in Paris to draw up a draft treaty re the canal, the British, then in occupation of Egypt, opposed internationalization of the canal, arguing that the Suez canal was not a natural but an artificial strait created by human industry within the territory of an independent power. It cannot be admitted that such channels of communication should be burdened with an international servitude."

If it is wrong for the Suez to be owned by one country why are the Panama Canal and the Dardanelles privately owned?

But, respond the imperialists, Nasser is a man who can't be trusted. Jordan's chief of staff, Nuwar, had an answer to this charge: "The British and French broke all agreements with the Arab world at the end of the first World War, when they occupied and partitioned the Arab countries."

Just what is meant by international control anyway? Would it not operate in favor of the most powerful members of the controlling board, Britain, France and the US? These three nations would then be in a position to set rates and conditions in favor of their own corporations. President Nasser was absolutely right when he termed the London conferences plan for international control, "collective colonialism."

Another important question that arises out of the Suez crises is the role of the US as a "peace lover." The United States has refused to endorse Eden and Mollett's plans for a war now, and has even been charged with betraying her allies. What has happened to the bellicose spirit displayed in the days of the Korean war and the Indo-Chinese conflict?

British and French capitalists have tremendous investments in Middle East oil. But the US does not depend entirely upon Middle East oil; she has complete control of the Western Hemisphere and its tremendous oil supplies. Besides, American corporations in the Middle East use some big super tankers which are too large to pass through the canal anyway.

It has been estimated that while Europe gets 2 million barrels of oil a day from the Middle East the United States only receives 350,000. US capitalists have never been too concerned with hazardous investments in Asia and Africa. More to their liking are the sure and bigger profits from Canada and South America which account for 65 per cent of their foreign investments. For example, as compared to $40 million invested in Egypt, the US has $600 million in Chile and $700 million in Cuba. It is obvious why they are not so fast to rattle the sabre as Britain.

At present Wall Street is not ready for war just because her friends are in trouble. More than anything the American capitalist class fears a general overturn in Asia and Africa, and the destruction of its bases in the Middle East. These they consider essential in their continuing build-up for war with the Soviet Union. The American role is definitely not one of a "peace lover" but is dictated by her own interests.

It is the pressure of the colonial masses, and the threat of their oncoming upsurge, which have for the moment prevented imperialist violence. At last report the case was going before the UN; probably as a first step to conceding the canal to Egypt.

But concessions will not halt the evergrowing strength of the Arab masses. The Suez situation will undoubtedly add fire to this already moving force, and give fresh inspiration to these long-exploited peoples. With each new crisis a final showdown draws nearer.

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The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 1, No. 12 November, 1956 23 Toronto — Price 5 cents

No Canadian Soldiers For Egyptian "Korea"

By ROSS DOWSON

Nov. 3—The Canadian government, through Foreign Affairs Minister Pearson, has intervened in what Anthony Eden has called a police action in "Egypt like Korea" with a proposal that the United Nations send in a military force. Canada's contribution ,officials estimate, would be an infantry battalion — about 900 soldiers.

This proposal to send Canadian, along with other UN-badged troops, into the Middle East, despite all claims to the contrary, is designed to: (1) stall for time to save the Tory Eden government, tottering under the opposition of the British people, by giving it the opportunity to carry out military assaults that they hope will settle accounts quickly, (2) to realize through the offices of the United Nations what the British and French imperialist governments have wanted all along —control again of the vital Suez Canal and immediate areas, (3) to refurbish the already tarnished reputation of the United Nations which has been seriously undermined by the British and French veto and complete by-passing of the UN when it did not suit their purpose, (4) to correct what important sections of the international capitalist class think was a hasty and ill-advised action on the part of Eden and Mollet—which far from strengthening imperialist control in the ticklish Middle East, threatens to whip up the Arab masses in a vast anti-imperialist conflagration which could bring the tottering economies of the European imperialists crashing down.

US State Department head, John Foster Dulles, in his disappointment and disagreement with the French and British over their tactical handling of the situation, has cynically commented that the Israeli government has been used as a decoy. The Israeli government formally launched the struggle against Egypt. Britain and France have justified their intervention as a move to uphold international law and to "preserve the peace." Dulles has suggested that Israel will get a payoff later—perhaps the Jordanian bulge.

Whether such a deal has been made or not it is apparent that Council of Labour, which represents the Labour Party Trade Union Council and the Co-operative Movement, to appeal to the workers to stay on their jobs and not walk out in any protests against the government's actions. Without some quick smashing blow such as re-occupation of the Suez canal zone it seems probable that the Eden government will come down.

Through its use of the veto on the Security Council and its rejection of the UN Assembly resolution calling for a cease fire, Britain has further compromised and exposed the UN as an instrument of the Big Powers' politics. Defenders of the British action have countered by pointing out how the US carried out its war on Korea without UN authority, and overthrew the government of Guatemala, refusing to subject this action to Security Council scrutiny. But the US is trying to save the face of the UN. It sees some further use for it as a sounding board, particularly at this time for hypocritical expressions of sympathy for the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Pearson's proposal for UN intervention in the Middle East has met with acclaim from the US State Department and also from the British and French governments who would be prepared, failing a quick success in direct military assault on Egypt, to use such a proposition as a secondary line of action.

The most powerful blows against an all-out imperialist war against the freedom struggle of the peoples in the Middle East are being struck by the working people of Great Britain. The Canadian people can aid in this struggle by refusing to support in any way the Pearson proposal to commit Canadian troops to the Middle East.

No more Koreas! Solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East! Defend the right of Egypt to national ownership of the Suez! For a referendum of the Canadian people on the commitment of Canadian troops in the Middle East! Urge the CCF MP's to vigorously oppose any and all moves to develop a Korea in the Middle East which could lead to an H-Bomb World War III.

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MASS REVOLT HITS HUNGARY

By JEAN LaPLANTE

Nov. 1—In one week of cataclysmic struggle, the students, the workers, the soldiers of Hungary, established themselves as the most powerful force in their country. Confronted by a vast network of secret police and a heavily armed Russian occupation force with countless reserves at its disposal, they launched a struggle in which they demonstrated incomparable revolutionary initiative and ingenuity and inspired the world with their heroism.

Within a week of bloody conflict, the entire country rallied to the insurrection. The Kremlin's satellite Communist Party government, its occupational forces and the reserves of heavy armour that it threw against the Hungarian workers, retained only a tenuous hold on the city of Budapest. The masses everywhere rallied to the insurrection—an insurrection which the harrassed Premier Nagy has now been compelled to characterize as " a democratic movement which has swept our whole nation in order to secure our independence which is the only basis of a socialist democracy."

In the unfoldment of the conflict there arose new organs of workers', soldiers' and farmers' power, to give direction to the struggle and through which the demands of the masses found voice.

Hungarian troops distributed leaflets proclaiming the creation of revolutionary committees. The demands of a Provisional Revolutionary Hungarian Government and National Defence Committee were broadcast by radio stations from cities in the hands of the revolutionists. Workers on general strike in large areas of the country told newsmen that their actions were being directed by a Central Workers' Committee.

The harrassed Premier Nagy has been compelled to recognize these bodies and to state that he "begs for their support." Surrounded by hostility and by a refusal on the part of many rebels to lay down

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KREMLIN DOOMED

An Editorial

For over three decades the rule of a privileged bureaucracy that grew up on Soviet society was maintained through the violent destruction of the institutions of worker's democracy; the Bolshevik party, the Soviets and the trade unions. Now the Russian revolution is experiencing a rebirth. The masses within the Soviet orbit are preparing to overthrow the bureaucratic usurpers.

The Hungarian uprising is a milestone on the road to the restoration of socialist democracy and the forward march to a socialist society. But the first major sign that a gigantic mass force was coming to life within the Soviet orbit was the East German general strike on June 17, 1953. It was followed up by the dramatic strike at Vorkuta where 250,000 slave labourers in the Kremlin' concentration camps downed tools, and by other uprisings in Siberian prison camps.

The general strike and uprising of the Poznan workers last June again shook the Soviet bureaucracy to its foundations. The carefully prepared trials turned into a political forum in which the crimes of the bureaucratic caste were exposed. Sections of the Polish bureaucracy itself revealed a susceptibility to mass pressure which compelled them to stand up to Khrushchev's bellicose threats and force the Kremlin to step down.

Now, in Hungary, the Communist Party regime, after calling in Soviet troops, has been compelled to retreat headlong before the revolutionary power of the masses.

The crisis within the Soviet bureaucracy is deep and irreversible. The basis for it was laid down by the colossal post-war expansion of Soviet economy, thanks to the planned economy laid down by the revolution of 1917, and by the expansion of the Soviet orbit following World War II.

Economy Decisive

From the weakness of Czarist Russia, the nationalized property relations brought Soviet victory in World War II against the full weight of German imperialism. The Soviet Union has since emerged as the second power in the world . . . promising to surpass in the next decade the advanced capitalist economy of the United States.

The tremendous victory achieved over German imperialism, achieved despite Stalin's crimes, served to inspire the Soviet working class—already grown in size and skills to second in world importance—with new self confidence. The rising tide of colonial revolutions that have plagued the imperialist powers since the close of the war, and the incapacity of imperialism to rebuild European capitalism as a powerful military threat to the USSR, took away from the bureaucracy the specter of invasion which it had used for decades as a means of diverting attention from itself and securing sullen submission to its dictatorial rule.

Even prior to Stalin's death the main outline of this crisis was clearly visible. With Stalin's death, in order to gain time to consolidate their shaky regime, his heirs felt forced to grant actual concessions to the masses and to promise more. These concessions, however, served to

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OTTAWA FIGHTING INFLATION AT EXPENSE OF THE WORKERS

Ottawa is seriously worried about the inflationary pressures that are building up in the economy. As usual this Big Business government has been unable to find any practical measures that could be taken other than to make things tougher for the working people of Canada.

In the past month the government's Bank of Canada representatives have held a series of very private and informal discussions on the problem, with stock exchange presidents, with deputies from the profit drunk financial corporations, and with representatives of Canada's most opulent merchant princes. Exactly what took place at these closeted sessions is unknown but it is generally conceded that it was suggested that it should be made increasingly difficult for the working people to buy goods on credit.

Bank Governor James Coyne has stated that total consumer credit has currently reached almost the 2½ billion dollar mark. Refusing to pin a danger-point level on that figure he added, "I don't think it desirable to have a sizeable increase, if any, in that amount." Mr. Coyne is reported to have left the impression that if some voluntary form of restraint of consumer credit is not successful then it is possible that the next budget might fix the percentage of down payment and limit the period of instalments.

The government didn't bother to consult the smaller merchants and loan sharks. Through government manipulation of the Canadian bank rate they are experiencing difficulty in obtaining bank loans to underwrite their credit programs. Many small merchants are being driven out of the credit sales business. Small loan companies were revealed in the Commons this summer to be already charging, in some cases, what amounted to 85 per cent per annum

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the Israeli government launched its attack on Egypt, which is heading up the pan-Arabic anti-imperialist struggle, with the complete agreement of the British and French imperialists and is acting as a running dog for imperialism.

The Cairo radio has broadcast a resolution of the International Federation of Arab workers calling upon Arab workers throughout the Middle East to destroy all foreign bases that could be used against Egypt. Demonstrations demanding the destruction of British bases in Libia have taken place in Benghazi. British banks, barracks and oil facilities have been bombed. British information offices in Daca and elsewhere have been fired. Oil from Iraq to the Mediterranean has been cut off by the bombing of pipelines in North Syria. The Qatar oil pipelines on the Persian Gulf are said to be blown up.

The British Labour Party has commenced a campaign that is designed to bring the Eden government down, according to Hugh Gaitskell, through the use of "every constitutional means." Anti-war feelings are running so high and demonstrations of workers and students of such a scope are taking place, as to cause the National Council of Labour, which represents the Labour Party Trade Union Council and the Co-operative Movement, to appeal to the workers to stay on their jobs and not walk out in any protests against the government's actions. Without some quick smashing blow such as re-occupation of the Suez canal zone it seems probable that the Eden government will come down.

Through its use of the veto on the Security Council and its rejection of the UN Assembly resolution calling for a cease fire, Britain has further compromised and exposed the UN as an instrument of the Big Powers' politics. Defenders of the British action have countered by pointing out how the US carried out its war on Korea without UN authority, and overthrew the government of Guatemala, refusing to subject this action to Security Council scrutiny. But the US is trying to save the face of the UN. It sees some further use for it as a sounding board, particularly at this time for hypocritical expressions of sympathy for the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Pearson's proposal for UN intervention in the Middle East has met with acclaim from the US State Department and also from the British and French governments who would be prepared, failing a quick success in direct military assault on Egypt, to use such a proposition as a secondary line of action.

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US Takes Over from Br. & France Threatens Arab Freedom Fight

The Workers' Vanguard
#14 Jan 1957
Supplement

By JOHN BLACK

As the smoke from the British and French imperialist atrocity against the people at Port Said began to lift, it became clear that United States emerges as the only power capable of defending common imperialist interests in the Middle East against the rising national independence movement of the Arab peoples.

The US is moving into the Middle East and North Africa to take over areas previously dominated by France and Britain. At the same time she is forced to put her imperialist rivals on the dole to prevent economic collapse in Western Europe. She is obliged to move gingerly in this process with somewhat different policies than those followed by Britain and France. But the fundamental aim is clear — to continue imperialist exploitation, particularly of the rich oil resources of the Middle East.

"Prior to the British promise to withdraw (from Suez), states the Dec. 11 **Wall Street Journal**, "the US had withheld any evidence of close camaradie, (with Britain and France) on the grounds that irate Arabs might retaliate, by blowing up the still unharmed pipeline bringing oil from Aramco wells (US owned) in Saudi Arabia." This statement reveals in part the difference between British, French and US policy in the Suez crisis.

US imperialism, relatively new on the scene in the Middle East and with vast holdings still intact in other parts of the world, hopes to take advantage of the opportunity to gain at the expense of its imperialist rivals.

Not content to work through the somewhat discredited Baghdad Pact, all the members of which, including Britain, are heavy recipients of US cold war aid, the Eisenhower administration has announced a new major policy decision.

Eisenhower is asking congress for greater mobility to commit the US to war in the Middle East without being hampered by opposition from the people that might be reflected in US government bodies. Tied in with the threat to crush with arms any further upsurge of the Arab nationalist movement that might jeopardize imperialist holdings is a vast economic aid program. The US State Department hopes to bolster up those heads of Middle Eastern states whose stability is threatened by the rising struggles of the Arab peoples, to swing others in the US orbit and to wave the atomic warhead threat in the face of the national independence movement.

This new policy is being presented to the world as a counter action to stop in its tracks an alleged Soviet plan to take over the Middle East. It climaxes a campaign that has been going on for some period now that slanders the anti-imperialist struggle as being Soviet inspired. The butt of the campaign has been Egypt, Jordan and Syria—the three areas where the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Arab peoples have reached their highest expression.

According to imperialist propaganda Syria has become a menace to peace in the Middle East. What has Syria—a tiny country of 3½ million population done? Like Egypt, in a completely valid exercise of her national independence rights, Syria has taken advantage of the antagonisms existing between the USSR and imperialism. She has bought arms to defend her sovereignty from the only source that would sell her arms — the USSR. That makes her a satellite of the USSR—a servant of Soviet ambition, which now that Britain and France have been terribly discredited, is to fill the so-called power vacuum—a vacuum which in truth is beginning to be filled by the peoples of the Middle East themselves.

Eden and all the Conservative forces in England, in order to overcome the opposition of the British people to their military adventures designed to reimpose British control over the Suez, launched a slander campaign against Egypt and the Nasser regime. "Nasser is a would-be Hitler"—"No more Munichs"—"Crush the aspiring Hitler when we can." While forced to back down by an aroused British working class who demonstrated their opposition in a mighty Trafalgar Square rally, this campaign goes on.

The Israeli government, which agreeably provided the excuse for British intervention, is trying to complete the Hitler metaphor by charging that the 50,000 Jews in Egypt are threatened with disaster. But on Dec. 20 the chief rabbi of Egypt, Haim Nahoum, informed the press that his constituents "denounce the brutal Anglo-French-Israel aggression against our dear motherland, Egypt." He stated that no foreign government, "especially Israel, is authorized to speak on their behalf."

The Ben Gurion government's attempts to present its military adventures at the service of imperialism as a crusade, have been further condemned by a socialist anti-Zionist group in Israel, led by M. Stein. This group, condemning Israeli participation, warns: "In this battle waged by colonial lords against the most exploited and down-trodden peoples, Israeli Jews serve as spearheads, as shock troops. Victims of Hitler emerge as his heirs."

By participating in the anti-Syrian gang-up, the government of Israel puts itself in the company of the worst Arab feudalists. Zionist propaganda has always contended that Israel was bringing modern industry and modern economic relations to the Middle East and precisely on that account was incurring the wrath of feudalists fearful of change.

But in Syria and in Egypt, the feudal elements — while certainly not overthrown—have been pushed aside by the rise of the national independence movement. The masses are intent on developing these two countries along modern lines. The governments represent the capitalist class whose own aims in the anti-imperialist struggle are, to be sure, extremely limited, but who are forced for the time being to give expression to national revolutionary sentiments.

Clearly Israel in its war against Egypt and its threats against Syria is not helping to bring about a modern development in the Middle East. Indeed, as long as she fights with imperialism, she fights also alongside the most reactionary elements of Arab society and against progress.

The Workers Vanguard #15 Feb 1956

GOVT. REVEALS CANADIAN PEOPLE HAVE NO VOICE ON WAR OR PEACE

The Suez crisis has served to demonstrate Canada's role in world politics. The debate in parliament over the past few weeks has developed as a Liberal-Tory argument over which imperialist war-chariot Canada should be tied to, that of the US or of Britain.

As is to be expected in a debate between Tory-Liberal parliamentary spokesmen of Canadian Big Business, not a voice has been raised for an anti-imperialist foreign policy, not a voice for a foreign policy which can lead to a real and lasting peace, the desire of all ordinary working people in Canada. Even the CCF MP's failed to put forward any effective anti-war foreign policy, any fundamental criticism of the present course. The whole framework of the debate is that of choosing the best path for strengthening reaction on a world scale.

The Tories have raised much ado about the need for maintaining Canada's so-called traditional ties to the Commonwealth. They have attacked the government for failing to back to the hilt the Anglo-French assault on Egypt.

The government is outraged by the "gun-boat diplomacy" assault on Egypt by Britain and France. They feel that such flagrant attacks, desperate moves in defence of the crumbling British and French empires, undermine the position of world imperialism as a whole. Provoked by a Tory attack, Prime Minister St. Laurent rebutted that "the era when the supermen of Europe could govern the whole world has and is coming to a pretty close end." He prefers to line up with the super-imperialists of the US, whose more subtle techniques would serve better the aim of maintaining capitalist rule in the world.

The present debate has exposed the complete lack of any independent foreign policy. In answer to those critics who desire a Canadian foreign policy independent of the US, External Affairs Minister Pearson put it bluntly, "The time when we could enjoy this particular form of national indulgence seems to me to be long since disappeared," he told the house of commons. He later made it clear that the Canadian government fully intends to go along with the US in any major issue involving peace or war.

The threat that this foreign policy, the policy of the Canadian ruling class, poses to the working people of this country can be seen from the new militaristic Eisenhower doctrine. The US government has blatantly announced that US forces will be sent anywhere in the Middle East to fight so-called "communist aggression" without even consulting Congress, let alone the American people.

Secretary of State Dulles casually informed a Senatorial committee: "If we got into war, we'd expect to get help from 42 nations with whom we have collective security agreements." This includes Canada. At the meeting of the

(Continued from page 1)

North Atlantic Council last December, Dulles stated that in the event of a real crisis involving war, the US would not even subject its policies or actions to prior consultation among its allies.

In the light of Pearson's statement that the Canadian government would follow the US in all important policies, what do the people of Canada have to say about going to war? Nothing!

Canada's membership in NATO binds our fate to the desires of world imperialism, whose leader, the United States, has many times in the last 10 years been on the brink of plunging the world into H-Bomb war. There is not a shred of evidence that they have or could alter their long-term plans for world conquest.

Withdrawal from all military alliances with imperialist states is the first step toward a foreign policy which can make a contribution to peace. US forces must be expelled from Canada and all Canadian troops brought home from abroad. Canadian troops in bases in Europe, poised for a military attack on the USSR when the US feels the time to be ripe, have nothing in common with the defence of Canada. Likewise Canadian troops with the United Nations force in Egypt are being used to prop up colonialism, against the aspirations of the Arab peoples. The real interests of the Canadian working class lie with the colonial independence struggles, not with the US or the British or the imperialist-front UN armies.

The Canadian government has committed us to all these aggressive policies. If the Canadian people are to gain any say over their own fate, they must take the war-making powers out of the hands of the Liberal, or any other government of the capitalist class. The issue of participation in war should be decided by a national referendum, a vote by the Canadian people, for it is they who will be called upon to do the fighting.

It is true that the Canadian workers need allies in the US. But their interests do not lie with the capitalist rulers of America to whom the government has bound our fate. Our real allies in that country are those who are fighting against that reactionary ruling class, the organized labor movement and the socialists.

Nor has the Canadian working class anything in common with the colonialism of the British ruling class, as the Tory party would have us believe. It was the socialist and labor movements in Britain that fought against and brought to a halt the Suez intervention with massive demonstrations.

Canada needs a foreign policy which breaks all ties with capitalist states. Only in allying ourselves with the colonial revolution, with the working people of the Soviet bloc who are struggling both against imperialism and the Stalinist counter-revolution in their own countries, with the anti-war socialist forces in Europe and America, can Canada play a progressive role in world affairs. Only in the defeat of war-breeding imperialism on a world scale can an H-bomb war be prevented.

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The Workers Vanguard #16 Mar 1957

Ottawa and US Give Official Welcome To Guy Mollet - Butcher of Algerians

Virtually the entire diplomatic corps was out to receive in state the Premier of France, Guy Mollet, when he visited Ottawa for three days early this month. Mollet got the grand reception in Washington also, before he came to Canada. Of his Canadian and U.S. discussions, Mollet said he had reached "agreement on all questions."

Mollet is the head of the French Socialist Party and premier of France. He is a "socialist" who can reach "agreement on all questions" with the political heads of two leading capitalist countries, Canada and the United States.

Another "agreement" that Mollet reached was the assurance from U.S. leaders on the future maintenance of U.S. troops in Europe under the Atlantic Pact. The "socialist" Mollet wants this because he has pulled his own Atlantic Pact troops out of Europe and has sent some 600,000 to try to destroy the people of Algeria.

The French army keeps complete censorship over the news coming out of Algeria but some shocking hints of how these Atlantic Pact troops are trying to solve the Algerian problem have been revealed in a letter recently published in the French press.

It is from a French lawyer to the Prefect of Grande-Kabylie.

"I know that many of the people who live in these villages have been thrown out of their smallholdings without taking any of their belongings. After that, their houses have been burned and shelled, the men have been aken away, no one knows where . . and a certain number of the leades of these villages have been kiled, some in the fields, some after hey had been arrested.

"For nearly a month all trafic on roads and on the mule traks had been forbidden so that it was impossible to feed the peasants. Everybody knows that Kabylie has not enough to live on without being supplied, and that this policy is one of organized famine."

Despite 600,000 troops (one soldier for every 15 Moslems) and a policy of ruthless destruction with jet planes and field guns, Mollet has not succeeded in making any significant dent on the military and political strength of the rebellion.

Militarily, the average daily losses of the French forces still amounts to 50 dead and 50 wounded. Politically, the insurrection has never been stronger. Outstanding collaborationists of the past period have joined the Freedom Fight, being afraid of the people if they did anything else.

A successful general strike was called just before the debate on the Algerian question in the UN which extended into the Algerian population of France itself.

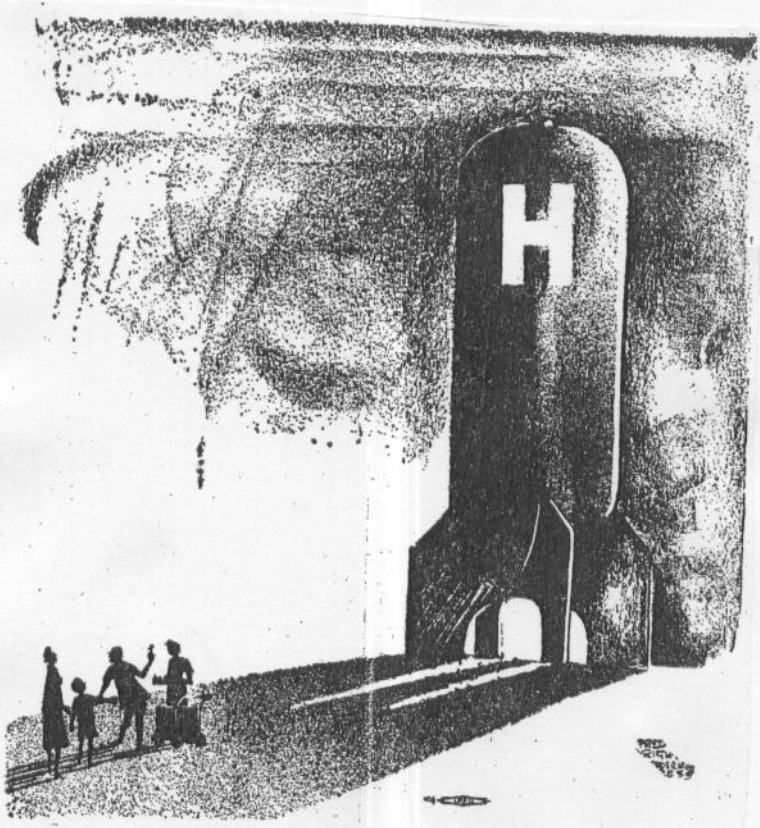
At home, in France, Mollet's Socialist Party government has been more police-minded than any of the governments preceding it: neither Faure nor Laniel would have dared to resort to open repression to the extent that Mollet has.

The "Socialist" government of Mollet hasn't arrested Poujadists or other supporters of the Algerian colons who are opposing his policies from the right. It has been arresting on a wholesale basis, liberals, labor leaders and socialists of all tendencies. The "socialist" Mollet has been confiscating issue after issue of the Left press and has even succeeded in forcing one socialist paper out of existence.

Within his own party, the Socialist Party of France, Mollet's policies have led to a process of disintegration. In October, a group in the Federation of Ardennes, led by Andrée Viénot, left the party. Soon afterwards, the only Algerian leader in the SP, of any importance, Benbahmed, also resigned. The leadership of the SP has done nothing to stop these departures. On the contrary, it has expelled, whenever possible, militant left wingers. Lucien Weitz, who was expelled for writing for the Bevanite TRIBUNE, for criticizing the government, is a recent example.

Mollet's Socialist Government does the dirty work of a kind that would not be tolerated if a right-wing government attempted to do it. By playing the role of hangman for capitalism Mollet has made himself and his Socialist Party of France a synonym for hypocricy and murder.

Vanguard #16 March 1957



"NOW, MOTHER, YOUR CHILD IS PERFECTLY SAFE---FROM POLIO

The Workers Vanguard #18 May 1957

World Says NO! to H-Bomb Tests

World-wide scientific and popular opposition to the production and testing of H-Bombs is steadily mounting. Dr. Albert Schweitzer, world-renowned scientist, has added his name to the long list of scientists who have warned of the dangers to human existence involved in the continued explosion of H-Bombs.

The stepped-up atomic armament campaign in imperialist countries, with the announcement that NATO nations will arm with thermonuclear weapons, is increasingly stamping the imperialist west as the source of the threat of H-Bomb destruction.

Anti-war feeling in Japan, the first victim of atomic destruction, has reached a new peak in the struggle against the scheduled British H-Bomb tests in the Pacific. Having already suffered from radioactivity from previous US tests, and Russian H-bomb explosions in Siberia, a feeling of alarm is growing in Japan. Japanese scientists have warned that a dangerous contamination of the atmosphere exists from recent Russian tests, and the government has warned the population to boil their drinking water and wash all fresh foods.

A militant anti-war opposition is mobilizing a "peace navy" to sail into the test area in an effort to prevent the British explosions. It has gained response in England where a group of pacifists have volunteered to go with the Japanese fleet and risk their lives. A British committee headed by Bertrand Russell is raising funds to finance the voyage. The H-Bomb mad rulers of Britain have declared their intention to go ahead with the tests, and the "peace navy" will enter the area at their own risk. The government has rejected all official Japanese appeals to stop the tests.

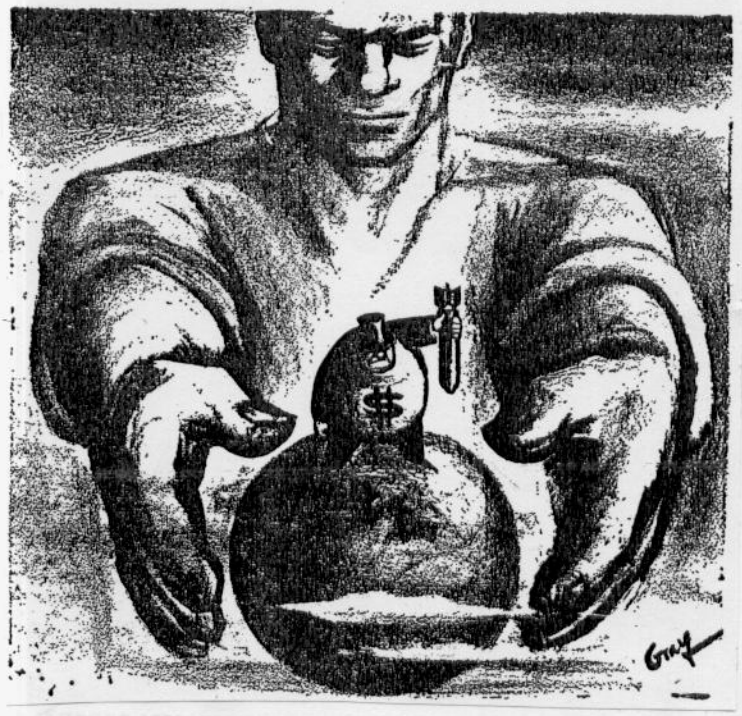
The new British military policy of drastically curtailing their traditional army trained with conventional weapons, in favor of making Britain an atomic war base, is driving home to the people of Britain the peril of the imperialist war drive. They have been made to realize that their capitalist rulers are willing to sacrifice them to H-bomb destruction in order to protect a few strategic air bases to launch their own H-bombs at the USSR.

The scope of the working class opposition to the H-Bomb has forced the Gaitskell leadership of the Labor Party to retreat from its previous complete endorsation of the Tory government's H-Bomb policy. The struggle against the tests is pushing the Bevanite left of the Labor Party forward in a challenge to the official leadership. This advance by the working class in the anti-war struggle in England will increasingly be an important factor in presenting a socialist alternative to H-bomb destruction.

A powerful blow against the war drive was struck recently by 19 top German atomic scientists who declared that they would no longer have anything to do with the Adenauer government program of production of atomic weapons. They stated that they would work only on peaceful development of atomic energy.

As in Britain the German working class is intervening in the struggle. The trade union movement organized mass May Day demonstrations against the production and use of atomic weapons.

A Workers' World — or None!



vanguard

Vol. II, No. 8 (20)—July, 1957 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Ottawa Supports US State Dept. Opposition to H Bomb Test Ban

July 3—The world-wide demand that H Bomb tests be halted immediately was replied to by US President Eisenhower's special negotiator, Harold E. Stassen, before the UN Disarmament Subcommittee in London yesterday.

Speaking on behalf of the British, the French, and the Canadian government—which is represented by a Martin Ellis—and addressing himself to the representative of the government of the USSR, Stassen made it clear that the US State Department and its allies intend to block and frustrate by every means at their disposal the demand that an end be called to these death-threatening tests.

Stassen answered the Soviet Union's proposal for an immediate suspension of the tests with a proposal of a temporary 10-month suspension tied in with a multitude of conditions, whereas' and buts. Stassen's terms require a precise agreement on the suspension's relation to first cuts in armed forces and non-nuclear arms and end of the production of fissionable materials for weapons, acceptance of inspection posts to monitor nuclear testing, agreement of other nations now outside the subcommittee, so forth and so on.

THE GLOBE AND MAIL'S Washington correspondent, Philip Deane, writes in his column of July 2 of the US State Department being "haunted by the thought that Russ would accept any US proposals for inspection of nuclear factories," and of the Stassen proposal being "so worded as to allow a retreat especially on the subject of a temporary cessation of nuclear tests."

While Stassen conducts the stall in the UN Subcommittee, Eisenhower and certain scientists in the government's Atomic Energy Commission and other bodies are carrying on a high-powered campaign to belittle the dangers of radio-active fallout and to justify further pollution of the earth's atmosphere in what they claim is a search for a "clean" H Bomb.

It is apparent that Washington and its Canadian, British and French allies are resolutely opposed to any ban on H bomb tests. To leave the matter in their hands, in the hands of the UN or any other Big Power conferences, is to court disaster. The people of Canada and of the United States must intervene.

BRITISH RESORT TO TORTURE TO CRUSH CYPRIOT STRUGGLE

By FRED JOHNSON

"I hope that I shall be the last Cypriot to die for the cause of enosis (union with Greece). If so, my death will be worth while." These were the last words of 19-year-old Evangoras Palikarides.

He was hanged recently, not for shooting anyone, not for threatening violence, but for having amongst his possessions—a pistol.

Cypriots desire the right of self-determination. Britain refuses to grant this. Instead, Harding, the British governor is conducting a campaign of aggression against the Cypriot people . . . vicious enough to turn the stomachs of the soldiers sent from Britain to "maintain order." It is, in the main, the strong arm men of a Special Branch in charge of prisoners and interrogation who are guilty of atrocities and brutality which deepens the hatred between the people of Cyprus and their oppressor, the British government.

Not only are the people of Cyprus being attacked, forced to undergo these atrocities, hangings, bombings, man-hunts, yes, and even violation of women, but even the press is being forced to stay in line . . . John Foley, editor of THE TIMES, in Cyprus, has been fined £50. Why? "Because," to quote Attorney General Sir James Henry, "statement of facts are themselves no defence. Some facts are of public benefit, but others are not. It is not the duty of newspapers to publish all the facts."

How can anyone justify stripping, abusing and beating Miss Vassos Loiza for hours on end. A pregnant woman of 17, Mrs. Maria Lambrou, was so badly mauled by the British interrogators that she lost her baby, although she informed them beforehand about her already quite evident condition. Dr. Zenon, a Cypriot government doctor, has been forbidden to disclose his diagnosis to either Mrs. Lambrou or her doctors.

A man's home is invaded, his small son beaten unconscious, his wife and daughter forced to view this terrorism. Nicos Sampson was not only beaten, but abused, his fingernails torn, burned by cigarettes and cut by broken glass. Then he was arrested, tried and sentenced to death by hanging. An appeal court freed Sampson, but he

MAKARIOS

was immediately re-arrested and again convicted and sentenced to hang. This is the justice, "British justice" being dispensed in Cyprus.

Last March, EOKA expressed willingness to cease all operations of hostility if Britain would resume negotiaitons with Archbishop Makarios and release him from exile. This could not be looked upon as a surrender but rather as a definite offer towards peaceful possibilities for a settlement.

The British Tory party, however, resorted to skullduggery and treachery. They released Makarios from his exile in Seychelles, but refused him entry to Cyprus. Without him, they fully realize, it is difficult for a solution to be reached.

The Cypriot people have no choice left to them but to realize that no concessions will be made by conciliatory gestures to Britain but that gains can only be made by struggle. Such has been the bitter experience of many other colonial countries, Ireland, Egypt, Algeria etc., in their desire for liberation from the yoke of imperialist colonialism.

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1957 July #20

WORKERS' VANGUARD

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The Workers Vanguard #22 Sept. 1957

H-Tests & Reactor Imperil Cdns. Call a Halt — People Must Decide!

By PAUL MACPHERSON

The Canadian army brass has recently revealed with a future atomic war will mean for Canadians. According to James Senter of the Globe and Mail, one senior army officer describing the future war stated that "it will be a fantastic onslaught for about four weeks, with a period of mopping up followed by local fighting for a considerable time."

When Senter pressed the army officers for details of just what effect this devastating catastrophe could have on the people of Canada and the US he found that the officers were reluctant to talk about this side of the question. Said one senior staff officer, "We don't talk about this very much . . . in the United States they try to play it down. They found such facts frighten people—tend to produce hysteria."

Despite this reluctance to talk about the real character of atomic war that increasingly threatens the Canadian and American people, Senter was able to glean a few facts. From these, he drew the conclusion that thousands of men, women and children will die without even a hope of medical attention. Or as one of the top brass put it: "If there are thousands of bomb dusted civilians in a contaminated area who are going to die anyway, then undoubtedly they will be left to die." He then added quickly, "But we don't talk about that."

"Progress" has been registered in another terrifying weapon. Dr. C. A. Mitchell in his recent presidential address to the Canadian Veterinary Medical Association called for the training of at least 2,000 more veterinarians and at least one more college. He stated that they were essential because no nation embarking on an all-out war today would hesitate to use germ warfare which is the cheapest way to destroy an enemy.

Right now millions of Canadians are threatened with radioactive poisoning. If atomic tests only continue at their present rate, according to the report of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, within the next several years the bones of young people in Southern Ontario and Northeastern United States could contain one fourth the maximum permissible concentration of cancer causing strontium 90.

In the state of Michigan, at a point a few miles from the Canadian border, a new atomic threat to the safety of Canadians and Americans is being constructed—the atomic reactor that is being built at Lagoona Beach.

This new reactor, according to the Engineering Research Institute of the University of Michigan, "places the greatest hazard to the nearby beaches and to the portion of Canada immediately across Lake Erie"—that is the Windsor area.

The Atomic Energy Commission itself, in a secret report that was reluctantly given to Congress on March 22, 1957, admitted that as many as 3,400 people could be killed and 43,000 injured in the event of an accident at the Munroe plant. The only other similar type of plant which existed in North America was located in the state of Idaho. It blew up in 1955. The new Michigan plant is 300 times as big.

Referring to these developments in Michigan,, Charles Brooks, president of UAW Local 444, stated that "It has become the burden of Labor to show the Munroe reactor development for what it is — Big Business willing to take a chance with the lives of thousands of people merely to increase its profits."

It is the same Big Business which is perfecting germ warfare and, in a matter of fact way, talking about devastating atomic wars. Wars that in a few days will kill hundreds of millions of people throughout the world.

It is the "burden" of labor to expose these large-scale war plans of capitalism of which the Munroe reactor development is but a little segment. The exposure of these war plans is but the first step in the direction of combatting them. Such a vital question as the lives of millions must be decided by these millions themselves.

All H Bomb tests must be stopped at once. The Autoworkers must be supported in their demand that construction of the Lagoona Beach reactor cease. We have also urged that the act of declaring war be decided in a national referendum by the Canadian people themselves. The labor movement should take up and lead the fight to implement this demand to let the people vote on the issue of war or peace.

The Workers Vanguard

#25 Dec 1957

The Militant, April 26, 1954

GOV'T & HOUSE NO SAY ON WAR OR PEACE

In dozens of municipalities across the country the Canadian people are electing mayors, reeves, councillors; are voting on referendums on housing projects, development of municipal facilities, etc. But on the question of when and under what circumstances we will go to war we have no say whatsoever. Nor it turns out, have the elected representatives in the commons, nor the government itself. This life and death matter is to be decided by a US general and, or, his Canadian aide.

This shocking state of affairs was revealed in the commons in the course of a gentlemanly discussion over an article appearing in an American magazine US News and World Report. In this article, General Partridge, commander of the North American Air Defense Headquarters, revealed that he has full authority, without reference to anyone, to send not only US but also Canadian fighter planes, any weapon, into action if there are hostile aircraft in the system. "You don't have to wire Washington?", he was asked. "No, we would probably be on the phone talking to people when the thing went off," was his reply.

That this situation was no surprise to the government, despite its protests, was affirmed by the digging up of a report of a press conference held by Defence Minister Pearkes back in August. Attended by Air Marshal Slemon, just appointed by the newly installed Tory government as Canadian aide to General Partridge, discussed the establishment of NORAD. Mr. Pearkes made it clear that the NORAD commander would have the power, without reference to civil authorities, to send Canadian and US fighters into action by merely pushing a button.

In the ensuing discussion it became clear that no agreement covering Canadian participation in NORAD had ever been placed before parliament and that the government itself had no concept of what its commitments, obligations or rights were. It was also clear that no party in the house had objections, whatever the situation turned out to be—they were only interested in making a modest bit of political capital.

An order-in-council tabled in the house announcing the appointment of Slemon and 40 RCAF personnel to Colorado Springs, was seized upon by External Affairs Minister Smith to build up his claim that a political decision had been taken. Pearkes was unable to answer whether General Partridge gets his authority solely from the US or whether Canada is involved too. Although NORAD is in operation, Smith claimed that the government is in negotiations—that the military are only talking and are going to make recommendations.

The speaker ruled out several questions as to how decision was reached on NORAD participation by the cabinet. Tiring of the political by-play, on Nov. 22 Prime Minister Diefenbaker threatened to open the security files for public scrutiny in a house debate. The opposition scurried for cover with cries that the government was abdicating from responsible government. CCF leader Coldwell smoothed over the situation with the proposal that the leader of the opposition (a Liberal) be henceforth taken into the Tory government's confidence.

But for the people of Canada they can have no confidence in the US top brass, in a government that automatically submits to the dictates of the US State Department, nor in a parliament that wants no say, not to speak of decision, in the matter. The people must demand that they and they alone decide on the crucial matter of war or peace in a nation-wide referendum.

FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 3, No. 2 (26) January, 1958 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Dutch Quit Indonesia Vast Holdings Seized

By P. MILFORD

The Indonesian government is attempting to force the Dutch into negotiations over West Irian by seizing Dutch investments on these rich islands. The Dutch have a strangle-hold on the economy through ownership of banks, shipping concerns, airlines, trading companies, oil holdings, shuttle railways, and coffee, cocoa, copral, sesal and rubber plantations. All non-working Dutch nationals have been ordered out of the country by the Sukarno government. Workers hoisted the red flag over the offices of Borsumij, one of the largest Dutch firms in Indonesia.

The Dutch have refused to discuss the matter of West New Guinea (West Irian). Dutch imperialism kept the island after conceding Indonesian independence in 1949. They have continued to extract huge profits from the labor of the Indonesian working people. Dutch investments have been cut in half from 2 to 1 billion dollars since independence, but according to Vrije Volke, a Social Democratic newspaper in Holland, Dutch enterprises, beginning in 1951, were pumping profits to Holland in equal volume with the most profitable years since World War I.

With the start given by the government the workers boldly moved out and began taking over Dutch business themselves. However, the self-action of the workers was too much for the government and Abdula Nasutoin, army chief of staff, has placed all Dutch business under army control. He also ordered the workers to stop seizing more Dutch firms.

In practice, army control means little change in the management of the Dutch holdings. "In most cases," writes Walter Briggs from Jakarta in the Dec. 16 NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, "Dutch enterprises have continued to operate with Dutchmen in control, and an Indonesian corporal stays posted outside as a symbol of the Army's protection and the nation's authority."

In the case of the Dutch owned plantations (75 per cent of the total), Indonesian Agriculture Minister Dr. Swardjo told reporters on Dec. 10 that the government was taking them over in order to stop "other people" from doing so. Tillman Durdin writing from Jakarta in the Dec. 10 New York Times reports that "Dutch estate sources here said tonight they were glad the government had acted to prevent worker seizures."

The capitalist press has tried to make out the Communist party as the force behind the seizures. But the Communist party leadership is opposing workers' seizures and workers' control. "For the most part the Indonesian workers who began taking over Dutch enterprises two weeks ago were not affiliated with the Communist Party wrote Tillman Durdin in the Dec. 16 New York Times. Most of the worker groups were affiliated with the nationalist party and the union that took over the Dutch KPM shipping company headquarters had the reputation of being an anti-Communist union.

"Communist-line members of the National Advisory Council (top advisory body to Indonesian President Sukarno, with great power) are known to have actually spoken against the worker take-overs and called such moves ill-disciplined 'anarcho-syndicalism'. The Communists advocated an orderly program of government take-overs such as the system that now has been put into effect."

These inspiring events in Indonesia are not isolated events. The whole colonial world is exploding. The chains of colonial slavery and exploitation are being blown apart. This huge mass of humanity, the long-silent people, the long-passive people, is starting to speak and to act. In the Cairo Conference the colonial people spoke to the world. The resolution on imperialism which was passed at the conference, condemned foreign interference in the affairs of other countries, military and political pacts and alliances, military aid, treaties encroaching on the sovereignty of nations, imperialism, imperialist exploitation, conditional economic aid and the establishment of foreign military bases and forces in territories of other countries. The colonial people are moving irresistibly in the direction of taking their future in their own hands.

NATO PACT TREMBLES PEOPLE WANT PEACE

By P. KENT

British Tory Prime Minister MacMillan's suggestion of an East-West non-aggression pact, the opposition of heads of governments in the NATO military alliance to the US State Department's out-of-hand dismissal of the Soviet proposals of negotiations to lessen military tensions testify to the tremendous anti-war feelings that have arisen across the globe since sputnik announced the age of missile warfare. Even Canada's Foreign Minister Sidney Smith joined in with an ever-so-cautious, naming-no-names, comment in the house that Canada's attitude was "not identical with other NATO countries where you find a complete denial as soon as any proposal is put forward." While he made it apparent that the government doesn't say yes, he said that it does not hold the view that "we should always say no or nyet to Rusian proposals of negotiation."

The knowledge that there is no way of intercepting rockets armed with atomic warheads and that through their governments they are aligned to NATO, a military pact aimed against the nation which is most advanced in this field, horrifies the peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of Europe. It has emboldened opposition parties and forced all the government heads who heretofore abjectly went along with the strategists of massive retaliation and brinkmanship to call for a change in pace. This was first clearly revealed at last month's conference of NATO heads of government.

Eisenhower and Dulles went to Paris to strengthen the US military bases that completely encircle the USSR by getting agreement to their rearmament with intermediate range ballistic missiles. The two Scandinavian NATO governments, Norway and Denmark, said NO. West Germany also turned thumbs down. The US had to be content with a statement that deployment of the weapons is still dependent upon "the agreement of the states concerned."

Canada, in the person of Prime Minister Diefenbaker, attended to pull Article 2 of the pact out of wraps in the form of a proposition that a food bank be set up. Article 2, an economic aid clause designed at the time of the shaping up of the alliance to mask its military character, has been embarrassingly inoperative. But he was compelled to admit in his report to the commons that there was nothing in the Paris communique on this.

Whereas a week previous to the Paris conference Dulles had dismissed Soviet disarmament →p2

Diefenbaker Says . . .

Windsor Jobless l Cut Work Week -

Windsor saw its first unemployed demonstration since the Thirties when 400 of the city's 14,000 unemployed marched past downtown Christmas shoppers. The marchers had come from a meeting in the City Market Building called by the Windsor Labor Council (CLC) and the Windsor Unemployed Association and addressed by UAW Director Burt.

Burt urged the unemployed to organize. Recalling the organizing days at Ford he stated that "When we filled this whole place, when they found that we really had the workers behind us we started to get concessions." He pointed to the government's recent instructions to Central Hou gage Corporation Windsor workers fo as a result of the UAW and the unen

As of December 43 per cent of Win ers were unemploye

Local 200's Pr White, in his Jan umn in FORD FAC before this month's Detroit, writes: " a shorter working more imperative da not going to sit an will face managem bargaining table shorter work week

TASKS AHEAD FO

By PAUL MACPHERSON

What lies ahead for Canadian labor in 1958? M will be seriously considering this question now as begins. Back in 1957 we saw the beginnings of many lems that are going to continue over into 1958. Ris ment, threatening anti-labor legislation and dete smashing drives by the bosses such as took place at Murdochville and at Levers in Toronto.

Unionists will also see, if they stop to examine the role of labor's top brass, a record of failure in meeting the real needs of the labor movement.

Looking back into 1957 we see how the official leadership of the Steelworkers mislead the Murdochville strike right fro stages. They pushe workers into signi agreement without demand of union the Murdochville w quent developments Steel and CLC lea by the team of J. Y Premier Duplessis

IRVINE URGES CCF BREAK FROM NATO

"The CCF should lead the opposition to the policies of Dulles just as it leads the opposition in parliament on domestic issues. The CCF supported NATO, chiefly because of the economic policies which it insisted on incorporating into the agreement, but which have been honored mainly by burying them in the military interpretation. The CCF should withdraw its support from NATO unless it is agreed that we leave no stone unturned to seek settlements through means other than war and negotiations based on the threat of war or else . . .

"We should demand the outlawing of the hydrogen and atom bombs, seek disarmament, demand that all troops, both of NATO and of the USSR be removed from Europe; that Germany should be united on a basis of neutrality; that both America and Russia keep out of the Middle East and that neither side ship arms thereto."

William Irvine, CCF national committee member, one of the founders of the CCF, sometime Alberta provincial leader and organizer, in the December 25th SASKATCHEWAN COMMONWEALTH.

The Western Vanguard #76

p. 2

posals as "propaganda," a major part of the conference time was taken up with a discussion to which the representatives of American imperialism were compelled to agree—to open up in the near future discussions with the Soviet Union.

Britain alone of the NATO powers has agreed to the installation of missile bases. But the US is still far from getting them. A public poll conducted by the Lon

See page 4—NATO PACT

NATO PACT TREMBLES

(Continued from page 1)

don News Chronicle showed a substantial majority opposed to US rocket bases and 85 per cent in favor of negotiations with the Soviet Union. The British Trade Union Congress is asking the prime minister to propose suspension of H Bomb tests to both the US and USSR.

Philip Deane, the GLOBE AND MAIL Washington correspondent, explained that the State Department, though embarrassed by MacMillan's call for a non-aggression pact with the USSR, "felt that the British prime minister's position was not really different from the US position and that he was most likely speaking for home consumption so as not to leave the calls for peace exclusively to the Labor Party."

Not only has sputnik, the knowledge that the whole North American continent for the first time is open to the horrors of modern war—atomic war against which there is no defence—had an impact on the thinking of the Canadian people. A whole series of events have raised doubts and roused increased opposition to the Tory-Liberal bi-partisan policy of following the US State Department leader.

No sooner had the government got rid of the embarrassing debate that revealed it has not only relinquished its authority over Canadian forces in NORAD but has empowered a US general in command of NORAD to commit Canada to war without so much as a telephone call, than it was in further hot water. Dulles in a press interview made the passing comment that the US has missile bases backing DEW line and atomic warheads stored on Canadian territory. While the government strenuously denies Dulles' statement, although there is important evidence that the US is building an intercontinental missile base at Frobisher Bay, it has had to concede that atomic weapons could be stored in Newfoundland without its knowledge. Then too, the Harmon base at Stephenville, NB, is now part of the Strategic Air Command — the US force for massive retaliation.

On top of all this, the increasing domination of US capital over Canadian economy, the US give-away program which has cut into Canadian wheat sales, and the Washington oil lobby's successful imposition of a 15 per cent cut on the importation of Canadian oil, have all alienated important and vocal interests in this country.

That is why External Affairs Minister Smith, with Pearson right on his heels, has had to mildly rebuke Canadian capitalism's senior partner, to express certain tendencies of an independent character—in words. But in deeds the government, with the support of all of Canada's major parties, at the same time passed military appropriations for the fiscal year ending March 31 of almost 1¾ billion dollars — with the warning from Mr. Pearkes' parliamentary assistant that military expenditures may increase far beyond that.

The whole NATO alliance is in dire difficulties and is in danger of cracking up. That is bad for American imperialism but good for the peoples of the world.

VOTE CCF-LABOR ACROSS CANADA

Is Peace an Issue In March 31 Election?

Is peace an issue in this election? Prime Minister and Tory leader John Diefenbaker says No! He points to the unchallengeable fact that Canada's foreign policy has been a bi-partisan one, all the parties with representation in the house have been in essential agreement. But out of the side of his mouth, so to speak, Liberal Party leader Pearson says Yes—peace is an issue in the election. **Peace with Pearson** signs appear in Liberal rallies—election literature is enscribed **For Continuing World Peace Vote Liberal.** So far, top CCF spokesmen have remained silent.

Mr. Dowson says, along with the question of unemployment, it is THE issue in this election—it is idle to talk about national health programs, to launch drives to eliminate cancer and at the same time test H Bombs that pollute the atmosphere with radio-active fall-out; to promote pension plans, to build housing projects and at the same time follow policies that will lead to the blasting of civilization off the face of the globe.

Pearson can't say right out that the question of peace, as between Liberal, Tory or any other party in the house, is an issue.. Nonetheless he is trying to suggest in this election that with him as Prime Minister, his Nobel Peace Prize sticking prominently out of his pocket, we would save the peace. As head of a Liberal government, he told a Hamilton audience, he would have greater opportunities to accomplish more than "I have ever been able to do before."

What was it that Pearson was able to do as minister of external affairs that he should be elected prime minister to accomplish more of? All he can point to is his role in

→P2

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#28
Mar 1958

VOTE SOCIALIST IN BROADVIEW

Ross Dowson

onsored by SEL in Toronto Broadv

The Real Alternative To Liberals and Tories

The cost of living is at record height. Climbing food prices and boosts in the cost of shelter are gouging into the Canadian people's pay cheques. Unemployment is nosing over the 800,000 mark, the highest recorded since the depression of the Thirties. In Windsor 20 per cent of the work force is without jobs. An atmosphere of fear and uncertainty pervades the country.

The Progressive Conservatives and the Liberals enter the electoral arena mouthing the words and assuming the appearance of parties of dynamic change. They are re-promising old promises and making new ones.

The Tories are trying to hoax the public with a "great new program" of works which, along with other promises, Diefenbaker states are "only a start on the fuller policy of Canadianism." This promise turns out to be just a diddle with old figures, nearly the whole $1,185 million of it routine spending of government departments and the financing of projects already nearing completion.

[illegible] office just a few months, after two decades of bench [illegible] in this farsical drama as the

For Peace and Freedom

- **Stop the H Bomb Tests** No more pollution of the earth's atmosphere with dread Strontium 90 and radio-active fall-out that threatens the lives of those living and generations unborn. Bar shipments of Canadian uranium being used for military purposes. Atomic energy for peace. Take the profit out of military preparations—nationalize the war industries and place them under workers' control!
- **Break from the NATO War Pact** Ban Hydrogen Bomb armed flights over Canadian territory. Remove US troops from Canada! Withdraw Canadian troops from other lands!
- **Align Canada With Freedom Struggles** sweeping across the globe! For the right of self determination of the colonial peoples. Break from the "on the brink of war" policies of the US State Department and all alliances with clerical fascists and slave-owning feudal princes! Solidarity with the struggles for socialist democracy throughout the Soviet bloc!
- **For a Referendum on War or Peace!** No more commitments to "police actions" and wars without consultation of the people! Take the war-making power out of the hands of parliament and generals with push-button and telephone-call authority to commit Canada to war! Let the people vote!

Jobs For All

- **Enact the 40 Hour Week** with federal legisla tion! Support organized labor's demand for the 30-hou week for 40 hours pay by implementing the 30-hour week all government-owned institutions and plants working government contracts. Not profits for Big Business and l offs for workers, but automation to improve the living st dards of the working people!
- **Re-Open Idle Shops** in Windsor, Ontario, copper mine in Britannia Beach, British Columbia, the t factory in Milltown, New Brunswick! Place them under union administration and produce for use, not profit.
- **Unemployment Insurance** for the entire d of unemployment! Raise payments to the amount of earned while on the job!
- **Give Government Food Surpluses** butter eggs, cheese, that fill the warehouses, to need dians! Export the grain surplus, not troops and arm needy peoples of the world!
- **Subsidized Low Rental Housing** f at cost, parity prices, so farmers can buy necess ment; build hospitals and roads, etc. Divert the m being wasted on instruments of death and destruct that will supply the social needs of the Canadian

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the crisis amongst the NATO powers over the British-French imperialist assault on Egypt.

Did Pearson save the peace then, in the Fall of 1956. Not at all! What Pearson did save was a Tory government shaking under the wrath of the British people who staged mighty protest demonstrations in the streets. He openly admitted to an audience in Flin Flon we "had to do what we did—to get the UN to intervene or it would have meant the end of the Commonwealth. Pakistan, India and Ceylon, and other countries felt very bitter about the action in Suez." Not peace was saved, but British imperialist interests, and in passing the Yankee Middle East oil empire, from the rising indigna-

Overleaf—IS PEACE

Is Peace an Issue??

Cont. from p. 1

tion of the colonial peoples in solidarity with Egypt.

Would the Tories have acted any differently? While he was being sworn in as minister of external affairs, Sidney Smith, with Diefenbaker tugging on his sleeve, admitted that he approved of Pearson's strategy. It is natural that they would follow the same policy, for all talk aside, they defend and represent the same interests. They represent not the interests of the working people but the interests of the Canadian capitalists—the handful of men who, as partners of the US capitalists, own and exploit the vast wealth of this country and who are dependent on their US partners for protection of their rich investments in Brazil, Venezuela, Spain. Not from the danger of alleged Soviet agents but from the peoples of those countries.

American ruling circles don't want a Third World War, an H Bomb war, but the American economy needs it. They charge the USSR is the war threat. The rulers in the Kremlin are guilty of many crimes against the workers but wanting war is not one of them. The nationalized and planned economy needs it. They charge the need a war. But the capitalist economy does, in its search to invest surplus capital, to find new and cheaper sources of raw material, to find markets for surplus goods.

To Pearson the interests of Canada, which he identifies with its present capitalist rulers, are inextricably tied to the US—to its policy of military encirclement of the USSR, to its "brinkmanship" and to its support of counter-revolution everywhere. Canada, Pearson told the students at the University of Western Ontario, cannot break from the United States even to recognize China. "I admit this, perhaps not cheerfully," he added.

And so, under the Liberals or Tories, Canada says amen to the H Bomb tests, OK's US planes loaded with nuclear arms to fly over Canada which, should they crash, will release atom dust that the US government assures us would be harmless unless inhaled.

Upon hearing Prime Minister Diefenbaker's report of the recent NATO conference in Paris, CCF leader Coldwell cried out there was nothing, nothing to give hope for peace. Nonetheless the CCF MP's, ignoring the urgings of such prominent CCFers as William Irvine, didn't raise a voice or lift a hand to break Canada from the NATO war alliance.

While the Canadian people need to be shown a new course, the CCF leadership goes down the line with the Liberals and Tories.

The election of the Liberals, with Pearson as Prime Minister, or the return of the Tories, either case will be a defeat for the fight against war. What Canada needs in a new foreign policy, one based on the needs and interests of the working people of this country and which solidarizes them with the struggles of the colonial peoples for national independence and social change.

That is what has saved the peace so far. The Chinese revolution. The struggles of the peoples of Indo-China and Algeria. The repulse of the imperialist forces that invaded Korea. The spectacular Soviet technological advances, the USSR's counter development of the H Bomb and its achievement of the ICBM. And the mounting anti-war sentiments of the European peoples. They have thrown road blocks in the path of imperialism.

Peace will be saved in struggle against capitalism, in the work to establish a totally different society, a socialist society where wars will have been eliminated and the peoples of all nations will live in a free association with one another in a world of peace and plenty.

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The Workers Vanguard

Vol. 3, No. 6(30) May, 1958 Toronto—Price 5 cents

The Real Issues Behind Threatening RR Strike

By FRED JOHNSON

With the arrogant declaration by the CPR bosses that they intend to drop freight and yard diesel firemen from their payrolls on May 11, the harrassed Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (CLC) has announced its intention to strike.

President of the CPR empire N. R. Crump has warned that he definitely intends to implement the recommendations of the Kellock Report to the fullest extent. He went on to say that he expects "other unions to keep their hands off this fight."

The CNR's challenge that it intends to force from the embattled union "sole discretion" to determine the fate of firemen in its employ makes it apparent that the struggle against the CPR doesn't involve just the few hundred that the CPR bosses would have the public believe. In fact, the jobs of all 90,000 members of the Brotherhood are at stake—US railway interests are impatiently watching the outcome of the Brotherhood's struggle for survival.

The CPR, in forcing a showdown, has given notice that it intends to operate not only freight and yard diesels without firemen, but passenger trains also. Should the firemen win the support of the engineers or the rest of the railwaymen the vast railway network will be brought to a halt as it was for nine days in January, 1957.

Although organized labor gave its blessing to the Firemen there is still much doubt as to how far it will go in support of their struggle. At the Winnipeg Canadian Labor Congress Convention a motion of support to the Firemen was passed. But this support is not of a concrete nature, mobilizing the mighty forces of organized labor behind a harrassed affiliate. It is hedged in by such phrases as "in a manner and extent to be determined by the executive council of the executive committee, in consultation and cooperation with the unions and non-operating railway employees."

This resolution indicates the confusion which exists in the minds of many trade unionists on the issues of this strike today. The firemen's leadership has failed to face up to the basic implications of this struggle, just as the CLC leadership has sidestepped the responsibility of mobilizing the forces of labor behind the strike itself. Both are guilty of seeking to postpone and delay any decisive activity on the part of the rank and file.

The Kellock Commission Report has been effectively used by the bosses to charge the union with featherbedding. The safety angle, upon which the Brotherhood has staked its whole case is a real one. So, too, is the factor brought out by Mr. Gamble, head of the Canadian railway brotherhood, that firemen have a duty to perform along with the engineer—"The engineer's job is too big to put on one man, and besides, the fireman is a student engineer. You can't make an engineer out of a man on the street, it takes at least three years training," he said.

A Northern Ontario railway has stated that they intend to carry firemen on their trains, mainly because "firemen working with the engineer certainly share the weight of responsibility of operating the trains efficiently and safely."

Nonetheless, the publicity that has been given to the Kellock Commission, which went down the line with the company, has confused the public mind on this question. And the union has failed to meet the charge that it is "featherbedding," standing in the way of technological progress.

"Automation can mark a great advance toward more leisure and less drudgery for humanity. But should workers be discarded as unnecessary while the shareholders become the sole beneficiaries in increased profits? Technological progress must result in more leisure and increased security, not layoffs and unemployment. The firemen now declared expendable by the railways, or other railwaymen with lower seniority whom they replace, are going to be tossed into an unemployment pool which already is over 12 per cent of the country's working force.

The firemen their jobs. Sho to be a factor, of a doubt, th week must be by sharing the same take-hom logical progres serve human pr

SCIENTISTS CRY HALT DEADLY H BOMB TESTS

By P. MILFORD

While the British government exploded another H Bomb in the South Pacific, one equal to at least 1 million tons of TNT, letting loose tons of deadly radioactive materials, the eminent bio-chemist, Dr. Linus Pauling, revealed a new threat to humanity in atomic fallout—Carbon 14.

The Nobel Prize winner said Carbon 14 represents a far more serious long-term menace than all the other radioactive by-products of an atomic explosion, including the much publicized Strontium 90. The Carbon 14 created in atomic bombs already exploded will cause 5,000,000 genetically defective children over the next 300 generations, Dr. Pauling predicted, and cause millions of cases of bone cancer, leukemia and other bodily damage.

Dr. Pauling said he was shocked to read how much Carbon 14 is created in atomic explosions. With nuclear weapons already tested, the earth's content of Carbon 14 has been increased 10 per cent. This radioactive substance represents a particular threat, because carbon is so widely distributed and can be found in every tissue of the human body.

The American government, which has announced a whole new series of H Bomb tests in the South Pacific, is attempting to justify them with the claim that they are necessary in order to develop a "clean" H Bomb. But Senator Clinton P. Anderson, the former chairman of the Joint US Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, has revealed that "... the military is steadily stockpiling dirtier bombs. They not only are supporting them (dirtier bombs), they have pulled bombs out of the stockpile and inserted something which makes it dirtier."

"We talk clean on one side and we stockpile dirty on the other," he charged.

Eisenhower has entered the debate with the statement that the forthcoming tests would be dedicated almost completely to the development of clean weapons—or at least almost 40 per cent of them would be "almost completely" dedicated to the development of clean weapons.

Albert Schweitzer, 1952 Nobel prize winner, in his third appeal for cessation of H Bomb tests, charges that the "clean" H Bomb is intended "for display purposes primarily." Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist who directed governmental work that produced the first atomic bomb, told the press that "he preferred the 'dirty bomb' of a decade ago to the so-called 'clean' hydrogen bomb now in the US arsenal of weapons."

The US Atomic Energy Commission has engaged in fraud and deceit to conceal the extent of the dangers of the tests. Dr. Edward Teller, who the American government has falsely built up as the "father of the H bomb," claims that tests so far are no more dangerous to human health than being one ounce overweight.

Dr. Pauling has exposed Teller's statement as false to a scientific audience, pointing out that Dr. Teller was "in error by a factor of 1,440. Since there are 2,500,000,000 people in the world we can expect that the tests so far mean that about 1,000,000 more people will die of leukemia and other diseases than would have otherwise."

Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, 1937 Nobel Prize winner, has attacked AEC experts who speak of the effects of radioactive fallout as being almost negligible. "If, for instance, incidence in leukemia would rise by a small fraction, say .1 per cent, this may seem insignificant indeed. But .1 per cent may mean in time, 1,500 cases. Fifteen hundred dead children, laid out in a row, would look different from the number .1 per cent, and I suspect that if the children of those who think the number .1 per cent insignificant would be among the 1,500, they would arrive at a different evaluation."

Dr. Szent-Gyorgyi expressed the hope that humanity could find a "way to peace which does not lead over the dead bodies of children."

On March 20 a 2,000-member group of scientists charged that the AEC issued "incomplete and misleading" information on radioactive fallout and made facts public "only under the pressure of outside scrutinizing by non-governmental experts."

Deceit and secrecy are the main features of the Canadian government's policy on atomic fallout.

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Across the globe they meet, mai PROTEST AGAINST B

Germany

Over 5,000 workers in the Dunlop rubber plant in Frankfurt, Germany, struck for 10 minutes on April 22 in protest against nuclear weapon tests and Chancellor Adenauer's readiness to accept nuclear arms. In Hamburg a round-the-clock guard is mounted in front of the city hall; the demonstrators carry posters protesting atomic death from H Bomb test fall-out. In the final hours, as Adenauer's Christian Democrats jammed legislation for the atomic armament of German forces through the Bundestag, 1,000 workers in Kassel walked out of the Henschel engineering works and marched through the city in protest. Trade union leaders said the protest had not been ordered by their organizations. The action of the Kassel workers came in the midst of a mounting threat of a general strik by West Germany's 6 million trad unionists.

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Japan

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Dr. Walkinson, spokesman for the government on this subject, says that the government has collected some measurements of Strontium 90 but that figures are not being released because they might be "misinterpreted."

Because of a desire to show the danger in the last series of Russian tests some radioactivity reports have come in from British Columbia. Radioactivity in the air over Vancouver have been boosted by 10 times the normal amount. About 80 per cent of Canadians live in the "hot belt" of nuclear contamination which girdles the world between 45 and 55 degrees north latitude.

Canadians and the peoples of the world have radioactive poisons in the water they drink and in the air they breathe. The road of further H Bomb tests leads over the dead bodies of men, women and children. The world's leading scientists, almost to a man, agree on the peril of H Bomb testing and the urgent need to stop the tests NOW ! The people let these tests go on only at their dire peril and the peril of generations to come.

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Across the globe they meet, march, strike in —

PROTEST AGAINST BOMB TESTS

Germany

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The debate in the Bundestag, the longest and stormiest in its history, saw the Social Democratic Party introduce a bill calling for a national referendum on the issue but it was steam-rollered by the Christian Democrat majority. In a protest meeting in Frankfurt SD party leader Ollenhauer declared "we must act. Not only in meetings like this, but in a general strike."

Japan

The Japanese Social-Democratic Party adopted a program last month that urges the creation of an atom-free zone in Asia. It calls for the mobilization of the Japanese people against bringing nuclear weapons into the country, against the arming of foreign troops in Japan with atomic weapons, and against the equipping of the Japanese "self-defence forces" with nuclear weapons and guided missiles. It also calls for immediate and unconditional suspension of tests of atomic and nuclear weapons as a step towards world disarmament. On April 25 about 100,000 students demonstrated throughout Japan against the planned US nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Britain

The past month has witnessed a massive popular protest movement sweep Britain against the Tory government's continuation of H Bomb tests and its agreement to station US missiles on British soil. Within the Labor Party widespread disagreement has developed over

see PROTESTS RISE—page 3

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Protests Rise Across the World Against the Killer H Bomb Tests

(Continued from page 2)

the policy adopted last autumn at its Brighton Conference.

Over 10,000 people assembled in London's Trafalgar Square on April 13 to hear the leaders of the Labor Party and the Trades Union Congress launch their campaign for stopping Britain's H Bomb tests. At the back of the square in silent protest stood a contingent assembled by the Action Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and comprising many of the Aldermaston Marchers. Among their banners were many calling for industrial action, the blacking of (refusal to work on) H Bomb and rocket sites and No H Bombs for Britain.

The featured speakers, including Gaitskell and Bevan, avoided all reference to unilateral disarmament and working class action against war. Following the addresses a contingent formed up behind these banners to put on a militant demonstration: Shouting No Work on H Bombs, No Work on Rocket Bases, they moved down Piccadilly to a meeting in Hyde Park.

The Leeds City Labor Party has pledged its support to unionists who decide to black work on rocket sites, following a debate against an amendment in line with official party and Trades Union Congress policy proposing merely that installation of bases be postponed until after a summit conference. The Streatham (London) Labor Party has decided to refuse to adopt any parliamentary candidate who does not support unilateral abolition of the H bomb by Britain. The annual conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire region of the Labor Party carried a motion for the Manchester and District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen asking for a mass demonstration against the carrying of H Bombs over Britain. An audience of 1,000 people in Leeds were addressed by author J. B. Priestley, Cannon Collins and A. J. P. Taylor. Taylor said "There is no distinction between one argument for the bomb and another. When," he asked, "did a Labor Party conference authorize the last labor government to manufacture atomic and hydrogen bombs?"

Aneurin Bevan himself was shouted down by members of the Labor Party in London who were discussing the party's policy on nuclear disarmament. Delegates denounced the right wing's policy on the grounds that it did not go far enough. Bevan defended Britain's possession of the H Bomb with the threat that it would lose its allies, and accused persons who would place her in that position of being "enemies of Great Britain." Gaitskell, taking quite a heckling from 350 delegates at a joint Labor Party and Trades Union Congress peace campaign rally in Birmingham, stammered "I don't know" to the question as to whether as prime minister he would sanction the use of H weapons.

MAY DAY RALLY HELD IN TORONTO

When efforts to hold a united May Day rally in Toronto failed, the Socialist Educational League held one of its own. Ross Dowson was the featured speaker. The chairman outlined American origins of May Day and Canadian experiences on this day of working class solidarity and struggle. The main theme of Dowson's speech was the increasingly favorable possibilities for the unity of socialist forces and the fight against the H Bomb tests and a thermonuclear war.

Supporters of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom circulated the meeting with leaflets calling for cessation of the H Bomb tests. An appeal to build up the anti-H Bomb rally in Queen's Park, May 11 was made from the chair.

The Labor Progressive Party held its own May Day meeting addressed by Tim Buck. SELers attempted to acquaint those going into the meeting with the inspiring developments leading to the regroupment of socialist forces through such activities as the Montreal Socialist Forum. Vicious attempts were made to prevent the distribution of the April VANGUARD containing the report of the first Montreal forum. Hooligans shouting "fascists," "agents of the bosses" jostled and shoved distributors

Canada

A mass rally to urge the stopping of H Bomb tests now has been called for Sunday, May 11 in Queens Park by the Toronto Ad Hoc Committee of the Easter Peace Walkers. This committee is composed of members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Quakers and certain prominent churchmen who appeared in the ranks of Easter Sunday paraders with banners reading Stop the H Bomb Tests Now, Canadian Uranium for Peace, Save Our Children; Every Test Kills.

The convention of the 141,000 member Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations, meeting in Hamilton last month tabled a resolution calling for a halt to nuclear tests. The resolution, sponsored by the Port Carling Home and School Association, was

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So strong is the opposition among British workers to nuclear tests that the leadership of the Labor Party, who seek to dodge a fight on the issue, were compelled to call an anti-test rally at London's Trafalgar Square, April 13. Twelve thousand people turned out for the demonstration.

considered by the executive to be thrusting the delegates onto unfamiliar ground. More than 300 members of the Faywood Home and School Association in North York, a suburb of Toronto, passed, on April 22, with only one dissenting vote, a resolution urging the federal government to use its influence to stop nuclear bomb tests.

The Saskatchewan government has on its order paper a resolution which calls for the abandonment of all nuclear weapons tests. It was placed there by Dempster Heming (CCF-Moose Jaw).

A resolution from Chrysler local 444 to the UAW Canadian Council meeting in Windsor on the March 22 weekend called for unalterable opposition to the establishment of nuclear and missile bases in Canada by any foreign nation during peacetime. The resolution stirred up a hassle which was settled by a resolution which called for a summit meeting for the purpose of banning tests and missile bases. The Ladies Auxiliaries of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers have called on Ottawa to order the grounding of all US bombers flying over Canada and an end to all atomic and hydrogen testing.

USA

In the United States, so far, the fight to halt nuclear tests has been carried by scientists who have courageously battled the Atomic Energy Commission to tell the truth about the extent of the hazards, by pacifists, churchmen, liberals and socialists. The union movement, 18 million strong, has not, as in Britain, Germany and Japan, yet entered into the struggle. About 700 Walkers for Peace converged on the UN headquarters in New York on April 4 to petition for an immediate end to nuclear weapons tests. Their arrival at the UN coincided with the opening of the huge British anti-bomb march on Aldermaston.

At the same time Nobel prize winning scientist Linus Pauling, Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas, British philosopher Bertrand Russell, and Canadian former director of the World Health Organization Brock Chisholm filed suit in Federal District Court in Washington to enjoin the AEC from conducting any further nuclear tests. Dr. Pauling announced that the group would try to file similar suits in Great Britain and the USSR.

The Atomic Energy Commission issued a decree on April 11 barring US citizens from entering a danger zone which embraces a 390,000 square mile area where it plans to conduct a series of giant nuclear tests. The decree was specially designed to permit the government to carry out its seizure of the ketch Golden Rule and its four-man crew who were attempting to head into the area to risk their lives in a hope to further arouse world opinion against the deadly blasts.

The Workers Vanguard #30 May 1958

A Participant Reports March To Aldermaston

(The following are excerpts of a participant's account of the 50-mile march, April 4-7, from London to Aldermaston, Great Britain's Atomic Weapons Research Establishment. The account by Martin Grainger appeared in the April 12 Newsletter, edited in London by Peter Fryer.—Ed.)

. . . The London crowds showed us a mixture of amusement and friendliness. There was little open encouragement but no hostility. They seemed impressed by our numbers.

The column was at this stage still taking stock of itself, appreciating its various ingredients, reading with curiosity the inscriptions on its own banners—all with a certain tolerant satisfaction.

It held all kinds of people, united in their abhorrence of nuclear war and in their determination to do something about it.

"Nuclear disarmament" was the sole wording on many of the posters. But how? The proposed solutions varied widely.

"Ban the bomb," said some inscriptions, appealing to some unspecified Pope or Caesar. "Talks not tests," demanded others. "Love your enemies," proclaimed yet another.

Readers of the Newsletter and of Socialist Review marched under banners saying: "Black (no work on) the bomb. Black the bases." This was the road to effective action . . .

The efficiency with which the march had been organized was evident from the outset. It depended on an intense solidarity among the marchers, and this developed as the march went on.

Luggage was entrusted to total strangers, food was shared and lifts were thumbed as easily as if transport had been a socialized service in a socialist society . . .

UNIONS JOIN MARCH

The Slough district committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union had joined the march, with an enormous banner. An Electrical Trades Union banner had appeared. The Newsletter contingent, its poster held high, marched right behind these detachments.

The pavements were packed with late shoppers and sightseers. We marched past them, shouting "No work on H bombs — no work on rocket bases!" Our slogans were taken up by other marchers near us. Many pamphlets were sold.

When the trade union bannerbearers left the procession on the outskirts of Slough, we gave them a lusty cheer. Between Slough and Maidenhead it began to rain again . . .

The highlight on Sunday was the entry into Reading. Ian Mikardo (a leader of a left-wing Labor Party group, Victory for Socialism) and a group of Labor councillors were waiting for us under the railway bridge at the city boundary.

EMBLEMS IN WINDOWS

The column went on through the working class districts of the town. It was good to see emblems of the march prominently displayed in many windows overlooking our route . . .

The column came to a halt in the crowded market place, bending round on itself in the shape of a letter U.

As our group, towards the tail of the column, passed the front half we were cheered and applauded. The whole square heard the slogans of the Newsletter comrades ring out.

Reading Labor Party held a meeting that evening in the Town Hall. It was packed . . .

Monday, the final day, saw our numbers increase several-fold. We were gaining a new sense of strength. Sections of the Reading Labor movement had joined us . . .

After a further tiring stretch we reached our objective at last. The final mile was walked in complete silence, along the very edge of the heavily wired perimeter of the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment.

ALDERMASTON

Many must have been surprised by the immensity of the enclosed area and struck by the brutal contrast between the dark, dense forest of rich pine through which we had just marched and the planned waste land of man-made structures with which we were suddenly confronted.

It all had a nightmarish quality. Here was the ultimate reality we had marched against.

Here it was in all its silent horror: those turf-covered mounds of too-geometrical proportions, those metal and concrete pill-boxes of weird but doubtless eminently functional design, those chimneys projecting from ground level, that eerie artificial lake, with its "No Bathing" signboard and its solitary swan, those unnaturally scattered buildings of utterly incongruous

→P. 2

form and size.

Here it lay behind two strong wire trellises, behind a necklace of "Danger" signs, behind boards soberly stating that police dogs patrolled the perimeter.

Its purpose was the death of men, women and children—and nothing else. It had no redeeming features. It was evil incarnate. It was the final refuge of their class rule, the iron fist inside the velvet glove.

Here it lay, inaccessible, miles from anywhere, mysterious, malevolent, murderous. Here was the sinister factory of death built for the ruling class by their Labor lackeys, built in the last resort for waging war on what was left of the first workers' state in history . . .

FINAL MEETING

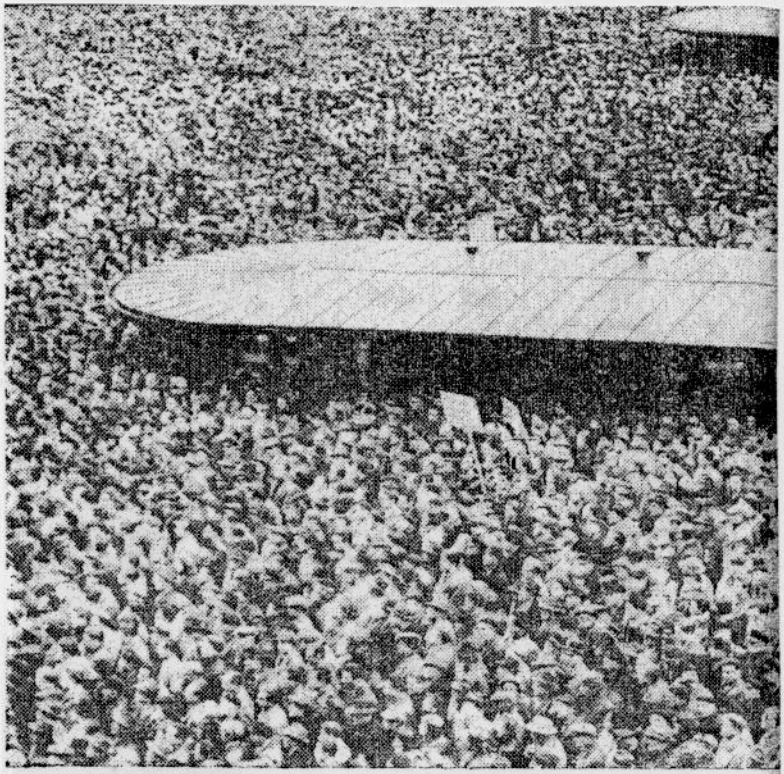
The final meeting took place in a large hedged-in field, to which access could be gained only through an opening just wide enough to admit three or four cows walking side by side . . .

And then it happened. What neither fatigue, nor the rigors of the weather, nor the gibes of the capitalist press could achieve was accomplished by the leaders of the demonstration themselves.

Of all the speeches delivered in those four days, the ones at the last meeting were the most inept, and the most out of touch with the feelings of the marchers.

This militant and magnificent march ended in a veritable orgy of stale platitudes from the platform. Having refused access to the microphone to a rank-and-file viewpoint from among the marchers themselves, the "leaders" allowed the demonstration to break up without outlining any effective or coherent course of action.

The final resolution was put, in an almost indecent hurry, to a thinning core of listeners numbering perhaps a quarter of those who had earlier thronged the field. The others had departed. But the last word will be theirs.



A view of the huge crowd, estimated to number 150,000, at a demonstration in Hamburg, West Germany. The rally was called to protest against the Adenauer government's passage of legislation opening the way to the equipment of the army with nuclear weapons. As a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization the Canadian government supports German rearmament. The Social Democratic Party has led the opposition—with Ollenhauer suggesting a general strike.

TORONTO READERS

You are welcome to attend a discussion circle held every Friday night commencing May 16, 8 pm at 569 Yonge Street.

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B.C. CCF Urges Break from NATO For Return To Socialist Policies

The Militant Vanguard
#32

By J. SINCLAIR

Under the impact of Canada's deepening economic crisis and developments on the international arena, the delegates to the 25th annual convention of the BC-Yukon CCF declared that the CCF should cease its support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization military alliance and that the party should turn back from the "make capitalism work" policies formally adopted two years ago at Winnipeg and re-orient itself in the direction of socialism.

On many occasions the delegates broke through the mechanical and procedural restraints with which the stultified leadership endeavored to derail and obscure the central issues of the day. To preserve any semblance of prestige or control the provincial leadership had to bow before them, to identify itself with left sentiments even as it struggled to thwart them.

On the opening day the convention—the first widely representative CCF body to meet since the Canadian Congress of Labor rally of this spring—discussed the political action resolution adopted by that body. Joe Morris of the Woodworkers, and vice-president of the Canadian Labor Congress, gave a public address that did little more than repeat the broad implications and significance of this move. The convention then went into closed session for a question and answer discussion with Morris and other functionaries of the BC Federation of Labor.

From discussions with delegates one gets the impression that there is considerable uneasiness over the role of the CCF, if any, in the projected broad organization. Morris is alleged to have said in reply to a question; ". . . that a federated structure had been considered and rejected because a federated structure is weak and ineffective . . ." Who rejected it and what group was considering it was not made clear, nor was any real indication given of the structural form of the new organization. However, it is obvious that some group, clique or faction composed of CCF and trade union elements have been masterminding a scheme and have a working idea of the form and type of organization they would like to see moulded—or more precisely, encasing the Canadian workers. It is equally obvious that the masterminds do not envisage the CCF or for that matter any other group, having organizational recognition or function in the new set-up.

Since the working people in many areas in BC are organized in the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the Fishermen's Union, and other unions proscribed by the trade union bureaucracy and expelled from the ranks of the united and central bodies of the trade union movement, one would only expect that their status in the projected farmer-labor party would come up. It is doubtful if a labor government could get elected without their support. It is reported that the CLC representatives told the convention that there would be no room in the new party for the proscribed unions.

Subsequently the executive presented a motion demanding the right to appoint from their ranks a commission to discuss and negotiate terms with the trade union bureaucrats. It was amended over the opposition of the leadership, to establish the authority of the convention to elect three of the members of the commission.

Almost every resolution offered by the official convention committee was amended and changed more to the liking of the rank and file. The leadership and its policies were subjected to a searching criticism and the chair was challenged and its ruling upset on several occasions. The mood of the convention was clearly demonstrated in the treatment accorded a special executive resolution, taking up the discussion on the Winnipeg Declaration adjourned at last year's convention, and covering over the many resolutions forwarded by the clubs that called, in one form or another, for a return to the Regina Manifesto.

An amendment from the floor, moved by David Stupich of Nanaimo, deleted the key derailing second paragraph and substituted for it; "This convention believes that the way to prepare for the next such statement is by disavowing and rejecting any concept or declaration that a modified and controlled capitalism is the ultimate goal of the CCF . . . that we once again proclaim . . . 'the CCF will not rest content until capitalism has been eradicated and the full program of socialist planning has been instituted and our ideals achieved'." Overriding all opposition, the opposition of Frank Mackenzie, MacDonald and MacInnis, the amendment was passed with a substantial majority.

Despite the many resolutions forwarded by clubs calling for repudiation of the NATO war alliance, ending the H Bomb tests, etc., the omnibus resolution presented to the convention failed to take a clear cut stand on NATO. An amendment presented by George Moreland that "CCF policy shall be withdrawal from NATO and support for a policy of collective security through the United Nations" was carried.

Urging that the CCF repudiate its present parliamentary position, former MP Colin Cameron charged that NATO was a "bar to the reunification of Germany and the major stumbling block to settlement in Europe." Further attempts to amend the resolution such as those made by Reg Bullock of North Vancouver who attacked the proposition that the funds saved from curtailed armament expenditures be transferred to the imperialist dominated UN, particularly while there is mass unemployment in this country, failed.

Resolution 15 urging a moratorium on mortgage debts for unemployed home owners, despite opposition, was shoved off the floor onto the incoming executive. The resolution calling for emergency action on unemployment failed to outline any immediate demands to meet the problem.

The three elected by the convention to the commission to discuss CCF-TU relations were the parliamentary leader and two of the most outspoken opponents of the elective principle. Right-Winger Grace MacInnis defeated her sole opponent Margaret Erickson for president by a vote of 89 to 47. Aside from Colin Cameron who broke through for the first time in several years to get a post on the executive by defeating Grant McNeil as first vice-president by a vote of 78 to 61, the political composition of the new executive is little different from the old. But the machine which has dominated the BC section of the CCF for so many years has been severely jolted.

The Workers Vanguard

#34 Sept. 1958

"WAR TO THE PALACES" IN THE MID EAST

By MYRA TANNER WEISS

From The US Socialist Weekly
The Militant

"War to the palaces! Peace to the cottages! Death to misery and idleness!" This battle cry of the Communards of Paris nearly a century ago is today the battle cry of the people of Iraq. A revolution of the poor against the rich is in progress. Charges of "Soviet plots," "Nasser plots," "infiltrators," "indirect aggression,"—these will not conceal the popular revolution that has begun.

The US and Britain hurled their military might into Lebanon and Jordan to counter a new surge of the Arab people. Both have since recognized the new Iraq regime, but neither is happy about the change. However, from the point of view of the people of Iraq, it is difficult to see how any change could be for the worse.

INFANT DEATHS

Poverty and tyranny are all the people of Iraq have known under the rule of King Faisal. According to the August 10 NY Times, one-fourth of all Iraq's babies die at birth. Another 25 per cent never live to reach the age of five. And those who survive, carried about on the shoulders of their mothers, look like "sick little monkeys, pale and unwashed."

In contrast to these figures of misery and grief, the "reliable ally" of the US and Britain, King Faisal, before his death, was looking forward to occupation of a new $20 million palace. It was to be complete with swimming pool, outdoor theatre, casino, tennis courts, Italian gardens, an artificial hill overlooking Baghdad, a 12-car garage, four houses for European members of the palace staff and air-conditioned quarters for the servants, not to mention for their masters.

To keep this luxury amidst such hunger and misery the King could not tolerate democratic expression of opposition. All political parties were banned and the jails were filled with those who had dared to lift their voices in protest.

"War to the palaces!"—So far at least work has stopped on Faisal's palace. The new regime does not yet know what it will do with the partial construction. But the new 32-year-old chief of Iraq's development program, Fuad Rekabi, July 27, said that he had halted work on the palace "and ordered construction of 360 houses in a village that was ruined by floods last year." The village housing project at Saadiya, near Baghdad, "will be under way in a few days and will be completed . . . within a few months."

The new regime has issued decrees cutting the rents on dwellings and some shops by 10-20 per cent. Decrees were also issued to cut the price of bread, cigarettes

NASSER

and other consumer items. A limitation has been placed on the landlord's share in the harvest.

In the past, powerful sheiks, holding vast tracts of land "paid no taxes at all," according to a report by Homer Bigart in the August 8 NY Times. Mohammed Hadid, the new Minister of Finance, said, "it would be too difficult to get the sheiks to pay income taxes, so he proposed, instead, taxing their land until the new regime puts through its land reform program."

A new five-year plan is being prepared for Iraq by the new regime. Hadid said it will "stress first, agricultural reform and expansion; secondly, industrialization; thirdly, housing and social reforms."

Of course, these are only promises, made under pressure of the revolutionary mass on whom the nationalist leaders must depend for protection against the imperialist powers. They are promises, furthermore, that cannot and will not be kept under the limited perspectives of the pro-capitalist nationalist leaders.

CHINESE EXPERIENCE

On a capitalist basis no undeveloped country in the world has yet succeeded in accomplishing more than a token agricultural reform, let alone industrialization. Only in China was the power of the feudal land-holding class broken. And only in China has significant industrialization taken place. Both were made possible thanks to a complete break with the imperialist powers and the organization of a planned economy.

The new Iraq leaders, like Nasser and other Arab nationalists, have made it amply clear that they have no intention of moving against capitalist property relations. Iraq's Finance Minister Hadid said the objective of the new regime was a welfare state based on "practical socialism." Economic policies, he said, would be "less socialistic" than those of the British Labor Party—which means no socialism at all.

Hadid, furthermore, gave new assurances to the imperialist powers that the Iraq Petroleum Company, owned by US, British, Dutch and French oil companies, would not be nationalized. This means that huge oil profits, the equivalent of about half of Iraq's national income, will continue to flow out of Iraq into the pockets of the imperialist powers.

The new Iraq leaders promise the progress that the revolutionary people are fighting for. But they will not initiate the social change which alone can make that progress possible. Still the story is far from finished. The revolution is only in its first stages. And the imperialist powers themselves, can be relied upon to drive the revolution toward more fundamental change.

CP FORCED TO ACT

Again China is instructive. The Chinese Communist Party, under Stalin's domination, was ready to operate as an oppositional party in a coalition regime with Chiang Kai-shek. It had no immediate perspective of a social revolution. It limited its policy to defeat of the Japanese imperialists.

The arrogance of the imperialist powers and their puppet, the Chinese dictator, made such a compromise impossible. For self-preservation the Chinese Communist party was forced to culminate the national revolution for independence with a social revolution, involving fundamental changes in property relations.

Will the imperialist powers drive the nationalist leaders of the Arab revolution onto the path of social revolution? They have already forced the pro-capitalist Nasser into a defensive bloc with the Soviet Union. Yet there is a great gulf between the pro-socialist Communist Party of China and the pro-capitalist forces gathered in Nasser's camp. The Arab people, while supporting these nationalist leaders as long as they are ready to resist the imperialists, will still have to forge their own parties to realize the social progress for which they are fighting.

"War to the palaces" has begun under the leadership of pro-capitalist leaders like Nasser of the United Arab Republic and Kassem of Iraq. But "peace to the cottages" and "death to misery and idleness" will be won only with the transformation of the nationalist or pan-Arab revolution into a socialist revolution. Those nationalist leaders who stand in the way of this necessary transformation will be pushed aside.

NO MISSILE BASES IN CANADA
CANADAS URANIUM FOR PEACE
Canada MUST MEDIATE
THE PRINCE OF PEACE IS RISEN
DOLLARS FOR DEVELOPMENT
MISSILES GIVE NO HOPE

Federal Newsphotos of Canada, Peace protesters at Easter Parade, Toronto, Ont., March 29, 1959, gelatin silver print.
(Toronto Star, Apr. 11, 2017)

The Workers' Vanguard #38 Jan 1959

Crown Witness Confesses Kenya Leader Was Framed

Startling evidence has come to light that the African leader, Jomo Kenyatta, sentenced to seven years imprisonment in 1952 by a British court, was framed. The schools that Kenyatta inspired were disbanded, the Kenya African Union which he founded was outlawed, he himself was charged with "managing an unlawful society"—the Mau Mau—when British imperialism launched its bloody assault on the Kenya freedom struggle.

One of the principal witnesses for the Crown, an R. M. Macharia, has signed an affidavit in which he testifies his evidence at the trial was false. He states that there was no Mau Mau initiation ceremony at the time and place that he had testified and that the accused Kenyatta was never present at such proceedings at any time or any place to his knowledge.

He revealed the contents of a letter marked secret and written from the Attorney-General's chambers at Nairobi on November 19, 1952. According to the letter, Macharia was offered, in return for his evidence, air passage to the United Kingdom, two years tuition at a university, and subsistence for his family for two years. After giving evidence he was flown to London and took a two-year university course at government expense. He further stated that a number of other prosecution witnesses were similarly procured and suborned to give false evidence.

The New Vanguard
#39 Feb. 1959

German, British Action Against A-Missile Sites

The heavy industrial Ruhr Valley city of Dortmund became deathly silent, except for the eerie wail of plant sirens, for 10 minutes on February 4. The entire city of three-quarters of a million stopped work in protest against the projected stationing of a British rocket unit at a nearby airfield.

The trade unionists who called the strike warned that if the rocket station plan is not cancelled there will be further protest moves. The British unit is to be equipped with US Corporal missiles designed for use with atomic warheads.

In Britain, pacifists organized in the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, have been protesting the erection of a "secret" missile base about 100 miles from London by lying in the path of trucks carrying supplies. Some 47, among them the Rev. Michael Scott, were arrested on December 20. Refusing to accept bail or to sign a pledge that they will desist from further protests, they have been sentenced to jail where some are on a hunger strike.

Plans are underway for a second Aldermaston March to be held on March 27 to 30. Last year's march, starting at London and ending at the site of the Atomic Research Development, attracted world wide attention. It was supported by pacifists, trade unions and the entire left. Prominent among the demands appearing on the march was one calling for mass working class action, popularized by the socialist weekly **Newsletter**; "Black (no work on) the Bomb! Black the Bases! This year's march will start at Aldermaston and end in a mass rally in London's Trafalgar Square.

Vancouver Socialist Forum Discusses Military Budget

VANCOUVER — A forum which may prove to be a history making event was held in Vancouver, February 4, when between 70 and 80 socialists and trade unionists met at the Hastings Auditorium to discuss WHAT SHOULD BE THE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TO THE CANADIAN DEFENSE BUDGET?. Views of the three speakers—Rod Young, Hugh Clifford and Malcolm Bruce, were sufficiently diverse to draw forth active participation from the audience until after 10:30 when the meeting formally adjourned. However, interest was so high that discussion continued in groups in the hall and later over coffee.

Rod Young's central theme, in a well delivered speech, was the irrationality of "our way of life" in wasting half the national income on obsolescent armaments and in accepting the fantastic notion that weapons ever could deter war-making. Young, a former CCF MP and now associated with the socialist monthly PRESS, felt a socialist should advocate the gradual withdrawal of our forces from Europe and the cutting of the defense budget to the bone. Then if we are able to carry forward the socialist answer we will be victorious wit. absolute disarmament.

CCF executive member Hugh Clifford drew attention to the curious public relations — advertising bureau use of psychology which had transformed the former "Ministers of War" into "Ministers of Defense." In an interestingly developed talk he came out strongly for unilateral disarmament and also suggested that to avoid flooding the labor market with demobilized soldiers it should be possible to turn these military units into work brigades for the construction of roads, bridges, etc.

Veteran revolutionary socialist Malcolm Bruce, former executive member of the CP and ex-editor of the WORKER, expressed pleasure in the establishment of a broad socialist forum in which, and through which, there could be a friendly and fruitful exchange of views among socialists without the point-making sharpness of debate.

Speaking to the topic he noted that the cold war is a high-toned moral crusade for the protection of a way of life which practises racialism and segregation, and has for allies such lovers of freedom as Franco, Syngman Rhee, and Chiang kai-Shek. The planned economy of the USSR, he emphasized, does not need and will not gain from war, but world capitalism — epitomized in the US — is caught in the same contradictions which have always led it to seek a solution by resorting to war. Building weapons which are already obsolete is wasteful but reproach is not enough and leaves the implication that if these death-dealing weapons had not become obsolete they would be justifiable whereas their only good aspect is that they have become obsolete.

The committee which organized the forum was well pleased with the response and has issued an invitation to any interested socialists to join it and assist in developing the March Forum. Secretary of the committee is W. L. McNeil, 1751 East 3rd Ave., Van-

The Workers Vanguard #41 Apr 1959

Govt Liars and Lies Exposed On Strontium Fallout Perils

Deadly radioactive Strontium 90 fallout from H Bomb testing is coming down out of the atmosphere five times faster than we had heretofore been led to believe. It is more heavily concentrated in northern United States and southern Canada than anywhere else in the world, according to information that the American government had suppressed up until last month.

Following the release of this information the Canadian government took the secrecy wraps from a report of the National Health and Welfare Department that it had suppressed since mid-1958. While the US data designated southern Canada as an area of highest concentration, Canadian data revealed that up until March 1958 some northern Canadian centers were even more heavily polluted with radioactive poison.

Chicoutimi, Quebec, registered in September, 1957, the high concentration of 21.7 micromicrocuries of Strontium 90 per gram of calcium, when London, Ontario, registered 5.9. Scientists explain a wide variation in concentration, which in Chicoutimi fluctuated 16 points in four months, to varied weather conditions and the degree of concentration of calcium, which has a strong affinity for strontium, in the soil.

Despite this ominous information as to the extent of Strontium 90 polluting the atmosphere, getting into the flour we eat and the milk we drink, government spokesmen continue to belittle the radioactive danger it holds for human beings. Only nine days before the release of this startling information about the degree of pollution of Canadian soil, federal health minister Monteith informed the house that "excessive levels of Strontium 90 have occurred only on nuclear weapon testing sights of which there is none in Canada".

See STRONTIUM, page 4

DEMAND H TESTS STOPPED AT ONCE

The TORONTO STAR, Canada's largest daily, which has been carrying a campaign for the cessation of all H Bomb tests, reports in its April 9 edition that the Vancouver Labor Council is asking the Canadian government to press for the "cessation of testing and production of nuclear weapons by the USSR, Great Britain and the US unconditionally."

On March 9 the Winnipeg City Council almost unanimously passed a resolution presented by Alderman Jacob Penner, which called upon the Diefenbaker government to take an "unequivocal and firm stand" in the UN for the banning of all further atomic test explosions.

STRONTIUM

(From page 1)

There is "no discernible hazard" in Canada, he said, "by Strontium 90 contamination of milk".

Denying that a special radiation measurement laboratory was being rushed into operation due to the US reports of increased radioactive fallout, Ontario Health Minister Dymond said, "we're still not convinced there is any greater fallout now than before". Confronted the next day by added data confirming the grave threat of blood and bone cancer to those living and generations not yet born from **Consumers Report** magazine, Dr. Dymond angrily thrust it aside with the comment that he was aware of the danger but could see "no point in creating fear and panic of the unknown". He then pulled out the old chestnut about the greater danger of radiation from medical treatment, which, unlike Strontium, is not continuous, not generalized and is delivered with the consent of those so exposed.

The heretofore suppressed US data, while playing down the dangers, accepts as an established fact that increased fallout will increase the incidence of bone and blood cancer amongst humans. But two Canadian scientists who have just had a nuclear reactor turned over to them at McMaster University see nothing at all to worry about. According to Dr. R. H. Tomlinson "we have no evidence at all that Strontium 90 will cause cancer. We assume Strontium radiation may have some effect but we don't know." He sees bigger matters of concern: such as the rise in the world's population.

The other partner in this team of mad scientists such as the movies sometimes portray, Dr. H. G. Thode, sees the increased radiation as beneficial, stimulating "research into genetics". Pooh-poohing concern about danger levels of radiation, he stated, "if we had a single small atom war, all present worries about radiation would become academic. The level would go out of sight almost immediately".

The deception and double-talk of government spokesmen and the ravings of mad scientists at McMasters have been effectively exposed by such outstanding physicists as 1954 Nobel prize winner in science, Dr. Linus Pauling, who in 1957 headed the list of some 9,000 of the world's most eminent scientists calling for a halt to nuclear tests.

McGill University's dean of agriculture, Dr. H. G. Dion, said at the turn of the year that if nuclear testing was stopped immediately, contamination already produced in milk and food crops will result in 2,500 to 100,000 defective children being born in the future, above the normal number of defectives. Two University of Manitoba physicists, F. M. Kelly and B. G. Hogg, claim that the five-fold increase in radio active fallout in Manitoba, revealed by a federal health department report, has made Manitoba milk unfit for consumption.

In his comments on the information just released by the US government, Dr. Linus Pauling attacked the claim that the probability of any one person being affected by two radioactive isotopes Carbon 14 and Cesium 137 was about 1 in 50,000. "This comes close to being a big lie—my estimate," he said, "is that the probability is 1 in 500 that any one individual will be seriously affected and will die of cancer or be born with gross defects . . ."

He predicted that at least 23,000 unborn US citizens would begin life as mentally defective or mentally ill persons as a result of radioactivity now in the atmosphere. At least 50,000 living US citizens in addition would develop cancer from past nuclear tests, he told the annual meeting of American Orthopsychiatric Association.

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AFTER ALDERMASTON SUCCESS DISCUSS 'WHAT NEXT?' IN BR.

This year's anti-H Bomb march from Aldermaston to Trafalgar Square in London, England, received little notice in the Canadian press aside from an article in the April 25 issue of Saturday Night. Last year's march was given the full treatment by such correspondents as the Globe and Mail's George Bain, as a gathering of frivolous eccentrics, bearded students, yellow slacked girls and guitar strumming cranks.

Charles Taylor writes in Saturday Night that this year "for the first time, the Campaign was widely accepted as serious and powerful." From the start, he points out, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has had the support of such eminent persons as philosopher Bertrand Russell, trade union leader Frank Cousins, author J. B. Priestley, scientists Lord Boyd Orr and Sir Julian Huxley, artists Benjamin Britten and Dame Edith Evans, and various religious leaders.

"But this year's Aldermaston March," a combined effort by the Campaign and the Direct Action Committee, he writes, "was significant for the numbers of ordinary people who rallied under the Ban the Bomb banners. With housewives, trade unionists and professional men in the ranks, students were in the minority for the first time." He adds, "When Robert Willis, chairman of the powerful Trades Union Congress, made a surprise appearance on the speaker's platform in Trafalgar Square it gave further proof that the Campaign can no longer be treated lightly."

The four day protest march that gathered outside Britain's hydrogen bomb factory at Aldermaston to set out for London, 53 miles away, started with 4,300. At no time during the march did it drop below 2,500. A column of 15,000 took two hours to pass into Trafalgar Square. In the square itself there assembled 26,000 people which the chief deputy marshall of the march states is the "record gathering of the century".

The ranks of the marchers and the tens of thousands of supporters and well wishers are now being stimulated by a discussion on "Where do we go from here?" For the facts are that despite the meetings and demonstrations, the Macmillan government continues to make and test the bomb and continues to construct rocket bases.

Following the demonstration Peggy Duff, secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, said, "from here on, our major task is to achieve closer links with similar movements on the continent and keep educating the public. We are also lobbying members of parliament, but there is nothing much we can do in a direct political way."

The CND policy of appealing to and relying on heads of government, on statesmen, rather than on working class action, is the same as the policy of the leaders of the British Communist Party. Last year they turned their backs on the march, this year they joined in through their British Peace Committee. The Direct Action Committee, which organized the passive resistance actions outside an American rocket base in Norfolk early this year, advocates a "voters' veto". But of those of them who supported the Stevenage campaign (reported elsewhere) almost all were against this policy.

The voters' veto—"No votes for

Br. LP Branches & Unions Protest Leaderhip's Ban On Left Wing

The British Labor Party right wing found it easy to pass the ruling through its national executive committee that supporters of the Socialist Labor League and the weekly NEWSLETTER could not hold membership in the party. But they are finding that it's quite another matter when the rank and file have an opportunity to say their piece.

The Streatham, London, unit of the Labor Party has defeated a motion to expel Gerry Healy and suspend several others. The Norwood unit's executive committee has refused to expel Brian Behan. Both Healy and Behan are members of the NEWSLETTER editorial board and leaders of the SLL which is only asking the same right to promote its ideas in the party as the Fabian society and the Victory for Socialism group.

The general management committee of the Handon North Labor Party unit has called for the rescinding of the ruling. Following the expulsion of nine alleged SLL supporters in Leeds, including two members of the Leeds City Council, the North East and East Leeds units protested the purge. The annual conference of the National Association of Labor Student Organizations passed, by a large majority, a motion condemning the proscription.

The Buxton branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, and the Lambeth Trades Council have also denounced the ban levelled against the revolutionary socialists who are demanding that the whole rank and file must have an opportunity of discussing what is wrong with Labor's policy and how it can be changed.

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Labor candidates who do not oppose the bomb"—is similar to the policy advocated several years ago by the Canadian Peace Congress—that the question of peace is not a class question and is above politics. This led the Labor Progressive Party in the 1949 federal elections to instruct those who would listen not to vote labor, not to vote CCF, but to destroy their ballots by inscribing on them—"Keep Canada out of war"!

This policy has been given an appearance of validity by the failure of the Labor Party leadership to take a stand against nuclear armament, with ex-left wing leader Aneurin Bevan rejecting the anti-bomb demands of the constituency labor parties, protesting that no foreign secretary should be compelled to go "naked into the conference chamber".

A vigorous participant in the discussions is the recently organized Socialist Labor League which was almost immediately proscribed by the Labor Party brass. Peter Fryer of the SLL and one of the editors of its journal THE NEWSLETTER addressed a meeting of Aldermaston marchers at Slough.

Fryer stated that "those who tell us that 'the bomb is not a political question', that 'the CND must be non-political' are in reality leading the whole campaign up a blind alley".

There are two Labor Parties he challenged, the party of the Gaitskells and the party of the ordinary worker in the constituencies. "Whoever turns his back on the Labor Party," Fryer warned, "is not merely turning his back on Dr. Summerskill and Bevan, the ex-bevanite; but also on the organized workers' only political expression." Yet the organized workers are the very force we must win if we are to have any hope at all of ending nuclear weapons.

Fryer told the marchers that the bomb is a class question—"the ultimate sanction of the capitalist class". They will never surrender the bomb; however good our arguments, however eloquent our prayers. If the campaign is to be serious it must rouse the working class to an understanding of its real interest, and the opponents of the bomb must identify themselves with the struggles of the workers, for, "to the extent that the workers come into conflict with the system that destroys their livelihood, to that extent they are also fighting the H Bomb."

He urged everyone to come into the labor movement, to shake labor up on this question, to fight to ensure that only anti-H Bomb candidates are selected by the constituencies. He urged that nuclear disarmament committees be formed in each union which should campaign in the branches and on jobs to convince workers that work on nuclear weapons should be blacked. They should demand that the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party declare for unilateral nuclear disarmament and appeal to the workers of America, Russia and other countries to develop independent working class action on the same lines.

Protest Br. War Plans Strike Rocket Project

The demand "Black (Stop work on) the H Bomb and Rocket Bases," raised in the last two Aldermaston marches by the supporters of the NEWSLETTER, now the weekly journal of the British Socialist Labor League, has borne its first fruit.

On April 11 nearly 1,000 building workers in Stevenage New Town, engaged in building English Electric and De Havilland plants for the manufacture of parts for the new Blue Streak Rocket, downed tools in a one hour work stoppage.

Some 80 persons associated with the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War had been canvassing the area since Easter. The stoppage was organized with the support of the local Labor Party, the local branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, the Furniture Trade Operatives, and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. The unions are pressing the Development Corporation to set up peaceful industries to replace this destructive work.

Canadian opponents of the war preparations in this country and the squandering of millions of dollars for destructive purposes instead of needed housing, schools, etc., should consider mobilizing for actions along the lines of those now underway in England. The Diefenbaker government has agreed to build two atomic missile bases as part of a network of 14 that the US is constructing on the East and West Coasts. They are to be built at Mont Laurier, Quebec and North Bay, Ontario.

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US-USSR HEADS MEET DIEF STEPS UP ARMS

By MARY WALTER

It's time to speak up! Its time to call a halt! If Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the USA spells a thawing out of the cold war, a relaxation of world tensions, the Canadian government is not cognizant of it. Or if they are, they can only be considered to be attempting to do everything they can to counteract such a possibility, to be trying to keep the cold war smoldering and on the verge of bursting into flames.

While the world's peoples are crying out against the H Bomb tests, while the demand for nuclear disarmament broadens, Canada is rapidly becoming armed to the teeth with nuclear military equipment. It has become a nuclear power.

The campaign to psychologically sustain the cold war goes on apace. Defence Minister Pearkes has committed Canada, in his conference with US Defence Secretary McElroy, to the addition of new gap-filling radar stations, without which he states Canada would be inviting attack, but which Group Captain Limbrick has just charged is a colossal blunder and waste of money—over $250 million worth. Even a flock of geese could set it off, challenges the RCAF director of radio warfare and former director of guided missiles.

On July 31 the government made a flamboyant announcement that it will replace the civilian volunteer civil defence set-up, on September 1, with 66 mobile columns, some of them 900-man battalion size involving 70,000 to 80,000 men and including regular and militia soldiers. On August 12 chairman of Metropolitan civil defence committee Reeve Waffle told the press that the federal government plans to build large atomic fallout shelters.

Then there are Diefenbaker's headline announcements. On July 17 he dramatically informed the House that the government had selected a spot outside Ottawa from where a central corps of the Canadian government could continue to function should nuclear war break out. Just before parliament was prorogued Diefenbaker told the house that the government, armed with the War Measures Act, is ready to take over the whole control of the country without the formality of convening parliament for even the passage of legislation should the country be attacked.

The government is already operating as if Canada were on a war footing. It has made Canada a nuclear power, not only without consultation of the Canadian people, but without consultation of parliament.

It was through a slip of the tongue that we learned that Canadian air forces, the last major NATO forces on French soil, will be armed with nuclear weapons. This information slipped out in the course of an interview that Defence Minister Pearkes gave CBC while waiting to board a plane for Europe. It was under similar circumstances that Canadians learned of the decision to transform these installations from an interceptor role into an attack role through their re-equipment with Lockheed F104G jets. By so doing, the editors of the Tory Globe and Mail were forced to admit, the government "radically altered their whole posture and inevitably the posture of the whole nation."

It was during the farcical two day debate on military policy in the last session that Mr. Pearkes mentioned in passing that Canada and the US were close to the exchange-of-notes stage on an agreement to make nuclear warheads available to Canadian forces. The nuclear warheads would be available for use at the Bomarc missile bases now being constructed at Mont Laurier and North Bay. Under the NORAD agreement US planes armed with nuclear weapons can fly over Canada and use Canadian bases with permission. Now nuclear weapons will be available for aircraft flown by Canadians.

This mad pace towards the nuclear armament of Canada must be halted! In the two day defence debate at the close of the last session scarcely a word was uttered in protest against the government's back door secret commitments. For a brief 15 seconds in a lengthy speech, CCF MP Harold Winch made the record. When denounced by Pearkes, neither Winch nor any other CCF MP rose in protest. The policy of the Liberals, as voiced by Paul Martin is "co-operation, understanding and collaboration".

There is no force in the House of Commons speaking up against nuclear armament. Then the people must speak out! The unions, CCF clubs, should mobilize their forces against such policies that can only lead in the direction of the destruction of mankind.

The Workers Vanguard #45 Aug. 1959

SASK CCF DEFEATS TOP BRASS OPPOSES NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

✓ CANADA SHOULD LEAD THE WAY IN THE PRESENT TENSE WORLD SITUATION BY DISARMING UNILATERALLY, DECLARED THE MAJORITY OF THE 429 DELEGATES TO THE 24th ANNUAL SASKATCHEWAN CCF CONVENTION ON JULY 15, 16 AND 17.

✓ CCF MP'S IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS SHOULD OPPOSE AMERICAN EXTENSION OF NUCLEAR BASES TO CANADA, THEY DECIDED.

✓ WITHDRAWAL OF CANADA FROM THE NATO MILITARY ALLIANCE, PROPOSED IN ANOTHER RESOLUTION, WAS ONLY DEFEATED BY A VERY SMALL MAJORITY.

The resolution calling for unilateral disarmament, except for contributions to a UN police force, was passed over the opposition of both CCF national leader M. J. Coldwell and Saskatchewan's CCF leader and Premier T. C. Douglas. Douglas spoke vigorously in opposition to unilateral disarmament.

Only his and Coldwell's combined oratory succeeded in defeating the motion urging Canadian withdrawal from NATO. Coldwell argued that this offensive military alliance, under which Canadian forces have been planked on the borders of the USSR, equipped with nuclear-armed attack planes, is needed "to stand against totalitarian aggression."

The convention also went on record as asking the provincial government to again consider passage of a 40-hour week. Over the opposition of Premier Douglas and Health Minister Erb the delegates asked the government to reverse its policy of requiring old age pensioners to pay 50 per cent of the cost of drugs and physicians' fees for hospital visits after the fourteenth day in hospital.

While the CCF leadership across the country has been retreating on the question of nationalization, the Saskatchewan delegates passed a motion that the CCF reiterate its faith in the principle of public ownership and place greater emphasis upon the extension of this principle. They concretized the motion by affirming their belief that Canada's railways should be nationalized and that the banks that control investment and credit be taken over by the federal government.

The question of the relations of the CCF and the projected labor party was vigorously discussed. Saskatoon delegates proposed a resolution that "this convention fully supports the CCF's policy of allying itself with the CLC in order to give Canada a strong socialist party." But many rural constituencies opposed the idea of a new party and/or the changing of the CCF's name.

Fear that fusion with the labor movement would alienate CCF support in conservative rural areas, the impact of the Big Business campaign smearing organized labor as being gangster-ridden, and con cern that the new party might in some way be less socialistic than the CCF have combined to cast doubts in the minds of many CCFers about the new party. The recent statement of President Smith of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees (CLC) that there will have to be a "complete reappraisal of the socialist point of view espoused by the CCF," has no doubt disturbed many.

The debate was resolved with a straddling resolution, drafted by a committee which included Douglas and Carlyle King, and which was adopted with no opposition. It endorsed the exploratory discussions but urged that no decision be made until the proposal has been discussed at constituency conventions and a decision arrived at at a provincial convention of the Saskatchewan CCF.

The Workers Vanguard

Mid-October, 1959 Vol. 4, No. 11(47) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Taft-Hartley Fails To Soften Steelworkers

From The Militant — US Socialist Weekly

October 22—Steelworkers across the nation are bitter and defiant over the attempt to force them to return to work under a Taft-Hartley injunction issued at the behest of Eisenhower. The rank and file are determined to continue their fight to preserve their union against the strikebreaking move.

In a last-minute effort to stave off the injunction, attorneys for the United Steelworkers went into court to argue that the application of Taft-Hartley to the present steel strike was immoral, illegal and unconstitutional. Since the adoption of the slave-labor law no court has ever refused to grant the government an injunction upon request.

"If an injunction is granted," said the union brief, "the great sacrifices which the steel workers have suffered will have been largely in vain. Their strike will have been broken. They would, it is true, be able to renew their strike after the injunction is dissolved, but in the interim the steel companies will have replenished their customers' stockpiles of steel and the economic pressure which the strike so far has caused will be neutralized."

Everything thus far has gone according to plan. The steel tycoons have dictated the policy of the government from the very beginning. Eisenhower set the stage at the outset of negotiations by warning against "inflationary" wage increases. This gave the steel barons the issue they needed to play the role of guardians of the public welfare.

Under cloak of the crusade against "inflation" the money-grubbing monopolists sought to impose upon the steel workers terms of unconditional surrender of union working rules and conditions.

With negotiations deadlocked, the union leaders appealed to Eisenhower to set up a fact-finding board to weigh the issues in dispute. The corporations, raking in the greatest profit hoard in history, were against it. Eisenhower extolling the virtues of "free" collective bargaining, rejected the union plea. There was, he said, no "national emergency" justifying government intervention. This fitted in nicely with the plans of the steel bosses.

In preparation for the forced strike the steel corporations had entered into an understanding with the big steel users to stockpile enough steel for at least three months. By that time they counted on Eisenhower to discover that a continuation of "free collective bargaining" would "imperil the na-

See T-H MOVE—page 2

ENDORSES BC CCF PENDING NEW PARTY

For the first time in its history this year's BC Federation of Labor (CLC) convention was not addressed by the provincial minister of labor. Minister Lyle Wicks, mid-wife of the infamous anti-labor Bill 43, was not invited.

Amidst great enthusiasm the delegates voted 360 to 40 in favor of supporting the CCF in the coming provincial elections pending the formal appearance of the new labor party scheduled early in 1961. The CCF has been for some years the official opposition and was the only real opposition to the union-busting Social Credit legislation.

In reply to BC provincial Liberal leader Ray Perrault's charge that no other party was given an opportunity to appear, federation secretary Pat O'Neal asked "who did he think we should have invited from the Liberal Party—Joey Smallwood, the Liberal who tried to smash the IWA in Newfoundland, or George Gregory, the Victorian Liberal who voted for Bill 43."?

It was a pity Perrault had not been a delegate to the convention, challenged O'Neal — then he could have voted against the decision to throw support behind the CCF along with two Liberal trade unionists, two Social Crediters and the Communist Party.

The Communist Party (formerly the Labor Progressive Party) has so far announced almost a score of nominees for the provincial house, including one who will contest CCF leader Strachan's seat in the next election.

DROPS CIVIL DEFENCE DIEF URGES SHELTERS

By CLIFF COTTON

It's every man for himself now! Over the past dozen years or so the government has spent on the average 1.7 billion dollars a year on what it calls defense. The bulk of this vast sum went to erect warning devices such as DEW line, Pine Tree line, etc. They claimed that this would leave enough time to evacuate cities in the event that the USSR, which they picture as itching to launch an armada of ICBM's and bombers across the northern tundra, actually does so.

Now those in high authority have publicly admitted that there is no possibility of evacuation. Not openly to the people, of course. They have admitted the bankruptcy of their whole policy by an announcement. At the Federal-Provincial Conference on Civil Defense, Minister of Defense Pearkes urged that all "prudent homeowners" build do-it-yourself A shelters.

All the civil defence organizers with evacuation plans for the cities are by-the-board now! There will be no civil, no organized defence! You're on your own!

Dumping his whole previous outlook, Pearkes now has the audacity to recommend that all "prudent homeowners" build A shelters. "Any man who's handy with a saw and hammer can build one in his basement or in his backyard. For a couple of hundred dollars this shelter will provide effective protection against fallout."

Of course, many city dwellers have no backyard or basement to put them in. And then again, many people will be unable to shell out "a couple of hundred" bucks.

The planned shelter has no sanitation or heat provisions. But then, as Mr. Pearkes says, the shelters are only intended to be used for 24 hours, and therefore heat and sanitation are not required. But, according to a report by the Royal Australian Navy, the Monte Bello Islands are still "dangerously radioactive" three years after the last British A-bomb tests.

To top this off, the same army committee that recommended the shelters to Pearkes, has stated that, in spite of the most rapid teletype communications system being used, people will have only five to ten minutes to get to a shelter if a missile is launched from a submarine.

If this bomb were a 20 megaton bomb, such as Peter Whitehouse

See DO-IT-YOURSELF—page 2

GAITSKELL failed

MACMILLAN returned as British PM

British Elections Sized-Up Labor Needs a New Road

(The following article is reprinted from the Newsletter, weekly journal of the Socialist Labor League of Great Britain.)

The Tories have won the general election with an increased majority. To the thousands of Labor supporters who have trudged the streets night after night over the past few weeks campaigning against Toryism, this will come as a harsh surprise.

The right-wing chiefs at Transport House assured us that our election machine was better than it had ever been. Thousands of pounds have been spent on its improvement over the past few years. Gaitskell and Bevan told us that Labor's policy, because of its moderate nature, would secure the floating vote. In this connection the party paid the supreme price: nationalization was dropped and Labor candidates were committed to retaining the hydrogen bomb.

The full responsibility for this severe defeat rests on the shoulders of the right-wing of the Labor Party and Mr. Bevan. It is their organiaztion and their policies which have been acted upon.

Contrast the viciousness of Transport House in its recent witch-hunt against members of the Socialist Labor League, whose only crime was disagreement with the type of policies and organization responsible for this defeat, with the kid-glove attitude of the right wing towards the Tories during the election.

CAUSE OF SWING

It would be a mistake to try to find an easy answer for the swing to the right. This election was lost in the years that immediately followed the Second World War.

NATIONALIZATION — Herbert Morrison, Ernest Bevin and their followers in the Labor government laid the foundations for this defeat as early as 1947 and 1948. Morrison called for a retreat from nationalization in 1948 and by 1959 this retreat had become a rout.

GERMANY—When Ernest Bevin, as Foreign Secretary in the 1945 Labor government, permitted the Nazi capitalist gang to regain control in West Germany, he made certain that the right-wing government of Adenauer was the order of the day for Germany. This was the beginning of the postwar turn to the right in Western Europe.

The German workers, prostrate and defeated by brutal Nazi oppression and Allied chauvinism, needed above all help from a Labor Britain. Instead they were kicked in the teeth and handed back to their old masters.

STALINISM — It must be said also that a large share of the responsibility for the swing to the right rests on the criminal policy of the Stalinists. By their brutal

See BR. ELECTIONS—page 4

Fisher's Bid Defeated

ONT. CCF ACCLAIMS NEW PARTY

An otherwise uneventful convention of the Ontario CCF was stung into life in its closing sessions on October 12 by the CCF MP from Port Arthur. With a last minute attack on CCF participation in the launching of the new labor party, Douglas Fisher made a bid for the presidency.

Ex-school teacher Fisher, who joined the CCF just prior to the 1957 elections when he defeated former Trade Minister C. D. Howe, has been widely acclaimed as a mature and most responsible member of the house by capitalist press correspondents and Liberal-Tory machines. In recent months he has been bombarding CCF members through the pages of the NEWS with classic bourgeois attacks on almost every aspect of socialist ideology.

But without giving the assembled delegates even a hint of his views in any of the previous sessions of the convention, in his nomination speech, not subject to rebuttal, he charged that the "new party idea as it is going on now can be a death blow to the CCF and mean disaster for the labor movement.

Fisher was nominated by CCF MP Arnold Peters and supported by the only other CCF MP in the east, Murdo Martin. Apparently worried about holding his seat, Peters charged that the CCF provincial leadership had failed to consider a number of problems, which he failed to specify, faced by Northern Ontario residents.

The delegates replied to Fisher's attack on the labor party by backing and electing UAW research director Carroll Coburn to the presidency. Then to settle the question they rejected both Fisher's and Peters' bid for election as two of the five vice-presidents. William Sefton, chairman of the Political Action Committee of the Toronto Labor Council and member of the National CCF Council, announced his candidacy for vice-president following Fisher's bid for office. Sefton was elected.

The newly elected President Carroll Coburn stated that he regarded his vote as an expression of confidence "in our march toward a new party." While the ballots were being counted CCF provincial leader Donald Macdonald declared "I am firmly convinced that development of the new party is the most important political development of our lifetime."

Fisher's claim to be representing the views of his constituency supporters was denied by the provincial organizer in an interview. It appears that not only did Fisher fail to attend the Sept. 10-20 Port Arthur workshop but not a dissenting voice was heard at the workshop.

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in the Sept. 26 issue of **Saturday Night**, says would likely be used in an H bomb war, it would produce a crater 512 feet deep, 3780 feet across, causing a vast groundshake and earth roll. What would this do to Mr. Pearkes' shelters?

According to Mr. Whitehouse there would be, in addition to this earthquake that would be felt for miles around, the effects of thermal energy. This would make a blazing inferno of everything for 50 miles around. Then add hurricanes, four of them over a period of a few days, ranging up to 200 miles an hour, making the center of the city like the draft at the bottom of a chimney.

Mr. Whitehouse concludes ". . . such an attack would kill 120 million from blast, heat, initial radiation . . . etc. The remaining 51 million—would be killed in a space of a few days . . . by intense radiation which would blanket the whole area of the US (and the populated parts of Canada — editor)."

In view of these facts, can it be said that there is any civil defense? Over a million dollars were wasted on Metro Toronto civil defense preparations alone over a period of just five years.

The government is much better acquainted with the facts than Peter Whitehouse or ourselves. It even has secret conferences, and information is deliberately withheld from the public, such as the recent Federal-Provincial Conference on Civil Defense. This meeting was held in complete secrecy, and even the letter of resignation

See DO-IT-YOURSELF—page 2

Do-it-yourself A Shelters

(Continued from page 1)

of the chief of the civil defense, Major-General G. S. Hatton, has been suppressed.

Since the government knows the shelters are useless, why is it advocating the building of them? The only conclusion that can be drawn is that it seeks to maintain the psychological preparation of the Canadian people for the war that is in the offing. They want to continue the military spending that has become essential to maintain the functioning of the capitalist economy.

In the first five months of this fiscal year, while Eisenhower, Diefenbaker and Khrushchov talked peace and disarmament, Canada's defense spending went up 10 per cent. And while they talk about a unified and independent Germany, Canada, far from withdrawing its infantry and air forces from West Germany is in the process of streamlining supply maintenance services and hammering out a program of aircraft standardization. As a partner in the NATO war alliance, Canada has agreed to the arming of West Germany with surface-to-air and air-to-air guided missiles heretofore forbidden under the Western European Union.

And of course the Canadian government said "aye, aye, sir," to the American State Department's decision to plank an intermediate range ballistic missile base on Turkish soil, which it boasts can be directed against points anywhere in the European part of the Soviet Union and most of central Asia.

The CCF MP's should demand to know what's happening behind the closed door meetings. If only from the indisputable fact that there is no defense, they should speak out against, and refuse to vote for, any money being spent on so-called 'defense. They should protest all the government's war moves under cover of peace talk, and demand withdrawal from NATO.

BOSSES DRIVE TO SMASH ONT. UNIONS

The Workers Vanguard

Mid-December, 1959 Vol. 5, No. 1(49) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Tories to Take Page From BC, Nfld. Laws

A poisonous brew is being concocted by a conspiracy of corporation directors through their complex of labor-hating organizations and mouthpieces, and their political stooges, for presentation to the next session of the Ontario Legislature. The Tory government, through the newspapers, over radio and TV, will hawk it to the public as having been drawn up upon public demand, designed to bring "reason" into labor management relations and to cut down to size an alleged labor monopoly struggling with the real monopolistic powers of Big Business. But this fiendish brew is designed to knock out, to prostrate the Ontario labor movement so that the employers, after it has taken effect, can cut its heart out and destroy it as a defender of the living standards of the people.

What with Smallwood's fascist-like destruction of the Newfoundland woodworkers union, BC's union-busting Bill 43, and the mounting US anti-labor drive which has culminated in the Landrum-Griffin Act and President Eisenhower's slave labor decree against the steelworkers, organized labor in Ontario has been apprehensive.

When Ontario Labor Minister Daley spoke to the Ontario Federation of Labor early last month he assured the 800 delegates that the "thinking of Premier Smallwood and some of the thinking in other provinces on labor legislation is not my thinking." He expressed confusion as to which of the proposed 51 recommendations in the report last year by the Select Committee on Labor Legislation are or are not desirable. But whatever confusion exists in the mind of Daley or on the part of the organized labor movement will be cleared up after the New Year, according to inspired newspaper reports.

According to the TORONTO TELEGRAM labor reporter, "the law, with stringent curbs on unions, particularly picketing regulations, is already being written . . . it will impose stringent curbs on picketing and wild-cat strikes; regulate union finances and provide lengthy cooling-out periods for major industrial disputes." The TORONTO STAR'S Pat McNenly states "union pension and welfare funds in Ontario will come under government control . . . in addition tighter restrictions on picketing and a longer 'cooling-off' period before strike action."

A preliminary test of strength (or is it a bargaining point like the rumor that the checkoff will be written into the law ?) came December 16. On that day the Attorney General's department closed the door to the Operating Engineer's organization of employees of the Workmen's Compensation Board. The deputy minister of labor, backed by the attorney general, has ruled the compensation board a crown agency—and not under the scope of the Ontario Labor Relations Act. This decree has so far resulted in blocking a drive by the National Union of Public Employees to organize 130 hospital and 900 office employees, and the Teamsters union drive at the Ontario government-operated Food Terminal. It has also deprived the unions that represent employees of the Ontario Northland Railway, the Ontario Stockyards and the University of Toronto of all legal status.

The massive anti-labor pincer movement that commenced to close in from Newfoundland and British Columbia is now threatening Ontario, as it has begun to threaten Manitoba and New Brunswick labor. Early last month the 220-member Winnipeg Builders Exchange presented a brief to the Roblin government demanding unions be declared legal entities, a ban on secondary boycotts and amendments to the act to prohibit closed and union shops. For over a year now, New Brunswick teamsters, operating engineers and hod carriers, their strike against Founda-

See SMASH ONTARIO—page 3

Anti H-Bomb Petition Sparks Chain Reaction

By JOHN BANNON

Montreal McGill University students are planning to reinforce an anti-H bomb petition with a massive motorcade to Ottawa Christmas day. The petition, drafted in co-operation with students at Montreal University and Sir George Williams College, calls for a halt to the importing of nuclear warheads from the United States by the Diefenbaker government.

This action is one of a series in a chain reaction set off by the meeting called in the University of Toronto's Convocation Hall a couple of weeks ago by a faculty committee for nuclear disarmament. Petitions similar to the U of T's are being drawn up by students and professors at Western University in London, at Ottawa University and Carleton College. Some 341 faculty members at the University of Alberta have sent a petition to External Affairs Minister Green demanding that the Canadian UN delegation oppose De Gaulle's bid to explode atomic bombs in the Sahara. University of British Columbia Faculty Association head Dr. Foulks has issued a statement that he and a "large number" of his colleagues are ready to sign an anti-H bomb petition if asked. Favorable reactions are being registered on still other campuses.

When confronted by the five-man delegation from the U of T disarmament committee, Prime Minister Diefenbaker asserted that the government was doing all it could to promote disarmament. The meagre demands of the Toronto document; 1) the "immediate and permanent" stoppage of nuclear testing and production, and 2) the restriction of atomic weapons to states which are already in possession of them, made it possible for Diefenbaker to pose as a supporter of disarmament on the international arena and to fob off on the committee a specious request for "specific proposals".

Meanwhile, his government is stepping up nuclear armament of Canada and the nuclear armament of the military forces that they maintain on the European continent. The construction of the Bomarc missile bases in North Bay and Mont Laurier is proceeding rapidly. Defence Minister Pearkes has affirmed that they will be armed with nuclear warheads. On December 3, Pearkes further announced that details are being worked out to arm the Royal Canadian Navy and RCAF Maritime Command's anti-submarine forces with atomic weapons.

Should the tests of the Lacrosse ground to ground missile, to be made next month at Churchill, Manitoba, prove a success, the Diefenbaker government has announced that it will be adopted and armed with nuclear warheads. Pearkes expects that the Lacrosse missile will be ready for delivery to the Canadian Brigade in Europe by 1961. Government spokesmen have made it clear that the CF104 fighter aircraft, when delivered to the RCAF squadrons in Europe, will be equipped with nuclear weapons.

Criticism of the inadequacy of the Toronto petition has come from more than one quarter to date, including professors at U of T itself. Commented Rev. Owen, Provost of Trinity College, ". . . no one could object (to the petition), it would be like objecting to virtue." A lecturer in the Faculty of Arts further remarked to the effect that five years ago, it had meant something to advocate disarmament in the abstract, but that it was a "mockery at this stage".

In a statement issued following the meeting with the Prime Minister, philosophy lecturer David Gauthier, on behalf of the delegation, reaffirmed the original limited intent of the U of T petition and further commented that it was not aimed at the Bomarc missile. "At the moment we have not formulated an opinion on the Bomarc for Canada . . . So we are neither affirming it nor approving it," he said. This, of course, ducks the main issue—whether Canada's own house should be put in good order.

The assembly of some 400 students who rallied at Convocation

See BOMB PETITION—page 2

GOVT CODDLES CAPITAL WORKERS LEFT IN COLD

When the United States and the United Kingdom decided not to pick up options on Canadian uranium production after 1962-63 and the bottom fell out of the uranium market, (Canada's third largest export) the United Steelworkers wired the government. Workers want to know what plans, if any, have been made for the protection of employees' equity, the telegram asked.

The interests of the uranium companies are being well looked after; just as were A. V. Roe's, when the outmoded Arrow was dropped, and Dosco's interests are, as it closes up Nova Scotia mines.

The government couldn't do enough for the free enterprisers who plunged in to open up the north. The contracts the uranium companies were granted, guaranteed repayment for their plants during the life of the contracts. The contracts are gilt-edged—they are with the Canadian Crown Corporation, Eldorado Mining Company, signed by agents of Her Majesty the Queen. The lack of risk didn't dull the initiative of Consolidated Denison—in 1959 they more than doubled their 1958 profits.

As to be expected, when the bottom fell out, the government didn't leave such multi-million dollar mining companies as Rio

See WORKERS LEFT—page 2

T APPROACHES POWER

R SHANE

yake-led Sri Lanka Freedom Party
on face an election this March. The
ist Lanka Sama Samaja Party has
party, which has been in the van-
ice its inception, poses clearly the
ese people—socialism or capitalism.
e confusion that reigns among the

per cent are still firmly held by foreign capitalists. The policy of the European land-holders is to gain the profits from their Ceylonese "investments", yet when it comes to a question of redevelop-

a high rate of unemployment — 137,000 in a total population of approximately 9,000,000.

In answer to this the Lanka Sama Samaja Party presents the following demands: nationalization of the key sectors of the economy, the people's control over the import-export trade to insure stabilization of consumer prices, an effective, nation-wide welfare system, and the broad participation of workers in management to insure the solidarity of a new socia-

government's
blems? First,

LISTS—p. 4

Bomb Petition Sparks Action

(Continued from page 1)

Hall to launch the petition on the Toronto campus was greeted by a leaflet, distributed by supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, which did come to grips with this, the main aspect of the question.

"Petition the government, yes" the leaflet read. "But let us add that the Canadian government should make a first contribution to peace by not increasing military expenditures and carrying on cold war policies as it has been doing."

In bold letters it declared **THE FIGHT FOR PEACE BEGINS AT HOME.**

Cut the Military Expenditures !

Remove US Troops From Canadian Soil !

Withdraw Canadian Troops From Other Lands !

"Why don't we press the Canadian government to cease the installation of nuclear weapons at the 'ready' position on Canadian soil," it asked. And urged consideration: For a Motorcade to North Bay !

At the same time as the U of T petition is a reflection of the increasing concern over the dangers of an atomic war it has stimulated a heightened interest in the whole question of the fight against war. Not just on the Canadian campus but everywhere. The letters to the editor columns of the daily press

contain many letters on many aspects of the question raised and neglected by the petition.

The atmosphere across the country is becoming more favorable for serious action against the government's military preparations—not just from the campus but from the mass organizations of the working class—the trade unions, etc.

Found in Dec 60 1962?

UNITE AGAINST THE BOMB!

ACT NOW TO STOP NUCLEAR WAR!

SUPPORT OUR DEMANDS:

1 - NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CANADA

2 - NO Nuclear Arms for Canadian Forces Abroad

3 - NO Military Alliance with Nuclear-Armed Nations

4 - *LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON NUCLEAR ARMS!*

meet at Civic Square

2 PM SATURDAY Dec 22 Queen & Bay

to picket

THE LIBERAL PARTY & PROG-CONSERVATIVE PARTY HEADQUARTERS

(Put out by the AD HOC TORONTO YOUTH COMMITTEE AGAINST NUCLEAR ARMS - Printed by Voluntary Labor)

FOR INFORMATION: Dick Fidler, 73 Don Valley Dr. HO 5- 9106

UNITE AGAINST THE BOMB !

Are the Liberals and Conservatives fulfilling their role to the Canadian people?

The Government and the Liberals are preparing to commit Canada to a nuclear role. This intention is a complete violation of the concepts of responsibility.

During the June election campaign the Liberals and Conservatives committed Canada to a non-nuclear role "at this time". We feel the mandate they received was partially due to this election platform.

At present both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. possess a sufficient number of nuclear weapons to overkill their respective populations many times. Canada's acquisition of nuclear arms would not enable Canada to "defend" herself as there exists no defence in our nuclear age. On the contrary, a nuclear Canada would increase the nuclear nations and thereby increase the danger of nuclear war.

Although there is no more reason today to accept nuclear weapons, the Liberal Party has now announced a pro-nuclear policy. According to press reports, the Conservative Party will soon adopt a similar one.

By these decisions and intentions they have deceived the Canadian electorate. The Liberal and Conservative Parties do not have a mandate to reverse their non-nuclear election platforms.

Since these parties have shown themselves unwilling to meet the most pressing problem of our day, the people must be allowed to decide which is the policy of peace -- nuclear arms build-up or non-nuclear alternatives. A thorough public debate on the nuclear arms question culminating in a national plebiscite would enable the Canadian people to decide this issue of vital importance. We feel this referendum would be in the noblest democratic tradition of the Canadian people.

DEMAND A REFERENDUM ON NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADA !

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE !

The McLean's Vanguard #51 March 1960

ALARM SIGNALS FLY IN FRANCE

By CLIFF COTTON

The French Government, in throwing what few powers it once had into the hands of General De Gaulle, brings the danger of fascism in France closer than at any time since the rise of De Gaulle in 1958.

Two days after the surrender of the insurrectionists in Algiers on February 1, it granted De Gaulle the right to rule by decree in the fields of (1) maintenance of law and order, (2) the security of the state (3) the pacification and administration of Algeria. The laws passed by a vote of 226 to 39 in the Senate and 441 to 75 in the Assembly, with the only vocal opposition coming from the right. The new decrees are allegedly for checking the fascists and army officers, although liberal and labor circles pointed out that De Gaulle already had powers enough to deal with them.

In the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of February 3, Paris correspondent B. J. Cutler reports; "The Assembly's Constitution Committee tried to amend the bill in

See FR. FASCIST—page 4

Part of the world-wide protests against De Gaulle's explosion of an A Bomb over the Sahara was this demonstration of some 40 Toronto youth in front of the French Consulate on Bay Street, Feb. 12. Participating were students from the U of T Socialist Forum and the Young Socialist Alliance. Amongst their placards was the demand that Canada withdraw from the De Gaulle-NATO Alliance.

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US DUMPED SUMMIT CONTINUES COLD WAR

Whatever their hopes and illusions about what might have come out of the Paris summit conference, one lesson has been brought home to the peoples of the world—the men who rule America are hell-bent on taking the world into an atomic war. All in the name of freedom, democracy and peace, of course, American capitalism has assumed as a sacred obligation, on top of its armament of the world, the right to conduct warlike operations over the territory of the second world power.

Long before the shocking revelation of U2 invasions of Soviet air space, it was apparent that State Department strategists considered there was nothing for them in this summit conference. They were dragged into it by British Prime Minister Macmillan who has become sensitive to the dangers inherent in the US war drive in direct proportion to the increasing resistance that it has been provoking among the peoples of the states in the Western alliance.

So crude has been US resistance to any moves in the direction of banning nuclear tests and slowing down the arms drive that even the servile Diefenbaker government felt constrained to protest by siding with the USSR on several occasions during the fruitless Geneva talks.

"In Berlin we already have the best possible deal . . . Any other solution would be a retreat on what we have," writes the Washington correspondent of the Globe and Mail May 21. A US army report released on May 5 advised "that the Soviet Union was not even attempting to build a force that would enable it to start a general nuclear war" and that the "Soviet leaders evidently consider it more essential . . . to fulfill their ambitious economic program." But the Pentagon gave top priority to forcing through its war pact with Japan, despite the massive opposition of its peoples.

Khrushchov wanted a summit conference, but the price the State Department demanded, not even the Soviet bureaucracy could pay. GLOBE AND MAIL reporter Deane, in his Washington dispatch of May 17, quotes at length the views of an analyst of Soviet affairs. "In playing his role of the reasonable man who asks only for an adjustment of the abnormal Berlin situation, Khrushchov has put a break on revolutionary activity elsewhere in the world and has had, consequently, an ideological collision with Peking."

Despite the transparent truth, Khrushchov gave Eisenhower every opportunity to pretend that he knew nothing of the U2 flights. Instead of going through the door that Khrushchov opened for him, Eisenhower slammed it shut with the defiant reply that not only was he responsible but that the flights would continue.

US strategy, Walter Lippman commented in May 18 Telegram, "made it impossible for Mr. Khrushchov to by-pass the affair. Had he done that he would have been in a position of acknowledging to the world, to the Soviet people, his critics within the Soviet Union and his Communist allies, that he had surrendered to the the US the right

pp 2

Demand that Canada Break from NORAD-NATO Pacts

THE EDITORS

After a week of lies and double talk, so shocked were the Canadian people by the US State Department's shameless admission it has been violating the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union with its U2 spy planes, that External Affairs Minister Howard Green felt compelled to charge the US with risking the atomic destruction of the world. He recognized that "one of these days such an incident might trigger a nuclear war." He expressed the fear, but the hope that such an act of war would not wreck the summit conference scheduled a week later.

It was this deliberate brinkmanship, not at all a routine case of peacetime spying that it is now being made out to be, and the Pentagon's brazen declaration that it would continue with such provocations, that sank the summit conference. Mr. Green's words are as true now as they were then. But today Prime Minister Diefenbaker is praising "the restraint and dignity and high sense of purpose with which the Western leaders attempted to overcome the difficulties which Mr. Khrushchov had put in the way" and affirms the strengthened "resolve of united."

The unity that Diefenba commitment of Canadian arm pact which welds a network of the USSR, one of which the continued subservience to the unity is a pact of death, for it c drive and a nuclear holocaust

Through a maze of offici it is now clear that under the Liberal government and imp Canada's air space, in fact Ca the hands of the Pentagon. C: U2 flights that have been goi Soviet territory. On the very NORAD forces were provocal creased readiness," Mr. Diefe Canadian air space to United the Diefenbaker government

Under NORAD and NA on apace.. In collaboration w stock piling psycho-chemicals,

Sask Medical Hierarchy Campaigns to Defeat CCF

By P. KENT

The medical hierarchy of Saskatchewan is waging a vicious campaign which they hope will defeat the Saskatchewan CCF government, up for election June 8, and thus block its attempts to introduce a medical care program into the province.

The top brass of the Saskatchewan College of Physicians and Surgeons have planked a levy on their 930 members of $100 each to finance a "public relations committee" to mastermind their campaign. Offices have been set up in both Regina and Saskatoon. Each doctor has been instructed to make no public statements on the CCF plan without first consulting the committee.

While there has been no doctor in the provincial legislature for the past 16 years, at least four intend to contest ridings in the coming elections—three of them as Tories, the other as a Liberal candidate. In other ridings the college's campaign, which is backed up by every conservative force in the province, will be directed against the CCF candidate to aid all or any one of the Liberal, Tory or Social Credit candidates.

The vested interests which dominate the North America-wide medical profession are solidly behind this drive to abort the first attempt on the continent to introduce a compulsory, prepaid medical care plan. The college has obtained the services of a professional medical public relations officer and has asked the Canadian Medical Association to provide it with an economist, according to Bay Street's FINANCIAL POST. A leading Toronto daily reports that the Saskatchewan College and the CMA are getting help from the infamous American Medical Association.

Is it an accident or is it a conscious act to strengthen the Saskatchewan campaign, that the doctors belonging to the Sault Ste. Marie Medical Association have declared their intention to sabotage a medical care plan? This month they informed Local 2251 Steelworkers that they will not service a clinic that the union is setting up to provide some 20,000 persons with medical care.

Last month the union-sponsored health insurance plan in the Kirkland Lake district—in operation 18 years now—received an ultimatum from the town's 18 doctors that they are walking out on it. Both actions are in line with the declaration made by the Ontario Medical Association brass early this

See MEDICAL HIERARCHY—p. 4

Hundreds of students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, lined up at registrar's office to ask for forms to withdraw from the school in protest over the expulsion of sixteen of their classmates. The 16 were victimized for conducting lunch counter sit-ins. Prior to their expulsion the 16 were jailed. This led to a protest demonstration on the state capital by 5,000 students..

CDN LABOR HAILS NEW PARTY AT TUMULTUOUS CONVENTION

The major plans and some of the project drawings for the construction and the official launching next year of Canada's new labor party were signed and sealed by the third constitutional convention of the Canadian Labor Congress in Montreal.

It was a tumultuous and emotionally charged demonstration. When the motion was put to the 1,600 delegates representing a million and a half organized workers the entire assembly sprang to its feet to a fanfare of cheers and whistle calls. Confetti scattered through the air. The strains of O Canada that arose from one section of the floor were soon overwhelmed with the resounding chorus of labor's traditional song Solidarity Forever.

At no time was the issue in doubt. So overwhelming was the determination and enthusiasm of the delegates to get the new party underway, and put a labor government into Ottawa, that not one CLC officer or ranking union official spoke among the 36 delegates who took the mike. Of those who spoke, 32 favored the resolution that instructs the CLC executive to prepare a founding convention with representatives of the CCF.

The 40-man delegation of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers walked out in a body before a dinner-hour recess to demonstrate opposition to any part of its per capita dues "being used or channeled to the formation or assistance of any political party." But the effect of their abstention was undercut. When IBEW delegate Angus MacDonald delivered their statement that "the party would be detrimental to their continued advancement and welfare" he expressed his personal hope that the union members would heed the convention call and change their minds.

The only other noteworthy opposition was that expressed by BC Boilermaker's secretary and delegate, Bill Stewart. He voiced one of the variations of the Communist Party position which has been one of opposition to the Labor Party. Stewart laid down as a condition of support the admission of the independent unions that have been undemocratically barred from participation in the party. Behind the CP ultimatum that it be a federated party open to its participation, lies its very real support of the reactionary Tory government. The CP hopes to widen the Diefenbaker government's tactical differences with its British and US allies in the interest of peaceful co-existence. It also argues for an all-inclusive, non-class "people's movement" instead of an independent labor party.

BC & Ont Meetings Discuss New Party

The joint CCF-CLC national committee's proposed program and constitution for the new labor party were presented to a seminar called by all the Toronto East End CCF clubs. Stanley Knowles and Morden Lazarus were the main speakers. Following their addresses the 90-odd persons in attendance broke up into discussion groups following which their appointed chairmen presented one question each to the speakers.

How is it possible to talk about planning "to achieve economic democracy" without nationalization? queried one of the groups. We should say we are socialists

See NEW LABOR—page 4

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p. 2

to violate Soviet territory." "No statesmen," Lippman points out, "can live in any country after such an admission."

The Pentagon in effect forced into the closed sessions at Paris, the Soviet peoples and the Asiatic masses. Its posture was so offensive that the spokesman of the Soviet bureaucracy, had he complied, could never have faced the Soviet workers and farmers who are becoming ever increasingly conscious of their rights. The Chinese government, riding the crest of a dynamic revolution, with US missiles confronting it across the straits on Formosa, had already made known its concern over the possibility of Khrushchov making some closed-door deal at its expense.

The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party are 100 per cent correct when they say that "Eisenhower and his kind will never lay down their butcher's knives" until they are disarmed by the revolutionary action of the working class. Millions of people all over the world are awakening to this fact and driving out imperialism and capitalism.

On North Bay March 'Gainst Bomarc Bases

By JOE ROSENBLATT

A damp Tuesday morning met the 50 picketers who had come some 250 miles from the universities of Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto to picket the Bomarc missile site at North Bay. Most of us were tired, having got up around five o'clock to meet the early shift going to work on the site at seven in the morning.

Carrying our picket signs and leaflets, we walked silently down the road to the RCAF military installation. We hastily formed a circle at the Trout Lake entrance. Five miles up the road to the north, a stronger force of Montreal students had already formed their picket line.

The military police were ready for us. An RCAF police van with its red light greeting us, came scurrying down the road. "Who's in charge here," barked a security officer—and in a pleasant manner told us to leave the site. Taken by surprise, we in turn politely agreed to his request and he left.

STAND FIRM

Almost spontaneously we decided to defy his orders and proceeded to picket the site. Sure enough the hornet returned, this time he wasn't very polite. "Am I to understand that you refuse to leave," he said, looking more official than ever. U of T student Doug Campbell replied that we would leave when it was necessary. Seeing that we were solid the man sped away muttering something about seeing the higher-ups.

We proceeded with our picketing. Doug broke out with a song which went to the tune of the "Cassions Go Rolling Along"—"Hear the cry; Hear the plea, Rise from all Humanity: Give us peace and to hell with the Bomb, There'll be no tears and no dread 'Cause you can't cry when you're dead. Give us peace and to hell with the Bomb."

The morning shift was already arriving, startled by our signs—"Down with Nuclear Weapons," "We will all be cremated Equally," "The clean bomb, the ultimate detergent," "Ban the Bomarc." We received a mixed reaction. Some of the workers going into the site stopped long enough to get some literature exposing the futility of the arms build up. Others drove right past the picket line, apparently somewhat irritated by our company. It was amusing to find that while we were being photographed by the press, Dick Tracy himself, sitting smugly in the police van, was also taking our photo.

PARADE IN NORTH BAY

Just before noon, we ended the picketing, giving ourselves enough time to assemble for a parade through the main street of North Bay. It was quite an impressive parade, with picket signs aloft, banners stretched out, greeting the citizens of North Bay.

As we marched two abreast, people stopped to watch. Cameras seemed to appear from nowhere, taking shots of the parade. At a chosen corner we halted to rally for a meeting. Norman Johnson, Toronto regional secretary of the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, opened up the meeting with a short speech followed by other students from Toronto and from Montreal.

Johnson urged onlookers to protest with us the continued construction of the Bomarc base, to urge the banning of nuclear tests and write to their MP and the Prime Minister that Canada withdraw from involvement in the nuclear arms race. Mitro Makarchuk denounced the Canadian Legion's blocking us from meeting in the Memorial Park as a McCarthyite act.

From this participant's viewpoint the highlight of the trek were the informal discussions we held at every opportunity. There we discussed the need for a broad social program assuring employment for workers who upon elimination of war industries would otherwise face unemployment; whether the USSR which had just exposed U2 spying, was a threat to Canada or was the war threat American capitalism; and if the way to realize our demands on the Tory government was to get behind the struggle to build the new labor party.

The spirit that permeated the student demonstrators and colored the motorcade is summed up in the words: "We have just begun to fight."

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

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Strontium in Diet Worse than Milk

Have you worried over and often thought of cutting down on your consumption of milk with its high content of radio-active poisoning due to fall-out from explosions of nuclear bombs. Well don't bother worrying any more! In fact it is quite possible you should be drinking more milk.

To be sure, as Dr. George Dionne, dean of agriculture at McGill University, told the central Ontario branch of the Agriculture Institute of Canada early in March, any man who orders the detonation of an atomic test weapon is condemning 15,000 unborn children to a life of misery. And when French president De Gaulle, recently wined and dined by Canadian officials, set off his Sahara "clean" nuclear tests, he caused a sharp increase in radio-active fall-out in Canada.

Health Minister Monteith admitted that a rise was recorded in two of Canada's 25 stations measuring the amount of radio-active poison in the air. And you are right when you recall the official British government report of a few months ago that the level of Strontium 90 in British milk has almost doubled.

Yes, every glass of milk we drink

See MORE STRONTIUM—p. 4

More Strontium In Diet...

(Continued from page 1)

is poisoned with Strontium 90 causing leukemia and bone cancer. But cutting down on milk consumption is no way out. Recent tests carried out by Consumers Union have proven that milk is by no means the only carrier of dread Strontium 90. In fact, in some cities on this continent it is not even the major carrier. In Boston, for instance, the concentration of Strontium poison in milk was less than the amount a teen-ager would consume in a well-balanced diet. Milk is actually diluting the higher Strontium unit level of the rest of the diet.

Consumers Union, according to an article in the June issue of Consumers Report enlisted the aid of Home Economics departments in colleges and universities in 24 cities throughout the US and one in Canada to make an accurate survey of radio-active Strontium not only in milk but in all foods in a typical American diet.

Their finding; "The government's present policy of monitoring milk only—even if the present limited sampling were extended to blanket the country—is inadequate to measure how much Strontium Americans are consuming . . . Specifically in CU's test-diets, milk contributed an average of only a little more than half of the Strontium 90, rather than the 80 per cent which has been assumed in the past."

Here is how Consumers Union explains that milk, as poisonous as it is, is actually diluting the higher Strontium unit level of the rest of the diet. "In the average case, judging by CU's samples milk is furnishing only slightly more than half of all the Strontium 90 being eaten; at the same time, it furnishes fully two-thirds of all the calcium. Calculations from CU's data show that the non-milk food (that part of the total diet not including milk) averaged 80 per cent higher in Strontium units than milk, precisely because it had so much less calcium than milk. It follows that milk was actually diluting the higher Strontium unit level of the rest of the diet.

"For the eight cities where CU tested milk alone the special milk samples averaged 10.9 Strontium units, well above the CU average of 8.8 for milk collected last July and August for the report published in February. Even so, the total-diet samples in the same eight cities had an average of 24 per cent more Strontium units than the milk-alone samples.

". . . in 19 of the 25 cities CU's total-diet Strontium 90 concentrations were higher than the average of 10 Strontium units which the Public Health Service found in its somewhat limited samplings of milk for the same month. CU's total-diet samples averaged almost 12 Strontium units, more than one third of the Public Health Services' recently revised 'maximum permissible limit' for milk."

There have been reports that certain scientists are on the verge of realizing Strontium-free milk. But such a discovery would obviously serve no real purpose. There appear to be only two alternatives confronting us—take whatever actions are necessary to stop all further nuclear tests or—stop eating. We can make our choice.

The Workers Vanguard #56 July 1960

Rank and File Demand that CCF——

CEASE BACKING NATO WAR PACT

The NATO military alliance, whether the CCF should continue to support Canadian participation in it, or cease doing so, is once again before the CCF, meeting in national convention August 9, 10 and 11 in Regina. There are resolutions before the convention from many constituencies, including the Alberta provincial convention, demanding that the CCF insist that Canada break from all commitments to the alliance.

Eleven years ago CCF rank and file activists across the country were up in arms against the party's national and parliamentary leadership. The CCF top brass were then intent on lining up the party behind Liberal and Tory commitment of the Canadian people to support of NATO. "Without knowledge of the specific terms of the drafted bill . . . over a month in advance of the parliamentary debate on the draft, the top brass of the CCF committed the CCF to absolute support of the pact without consultation with the membership or rank and file representative bodies," wrote Ross Dowson, in our predecessor Labor Challenge, in March, 1949.

CCF ranks, despite the come-on Clause No. 2, which promised economic aid projects, and won the lyrical praise of Mosher-Coldwell-Lewis, knew NATO was a war pact. The 11 years of bolstering up reactionary dictatorships, of planking military bases around the

See SCRAP NATO—page 4

Scrap NATO

(Continued from page 1)

globe, piling up nuclear weapons, provocative spy flights, brinkmanship, and threats of pre-emptive war by NATO spokesmen and their chief sponsor, US imperialism, have been convincing proof of the correctness of their opposition and the bankruptcy of the Coldwell-Lewis leadership.

Eleven years ago the provincial council of the BC CCF repudiated the national leadership's support of the NATO alliance—so too did the BC provincial convention. The Ontario CCF Youth refused to go along with it. Fred Tipping resigned as chairman of the Manitoba section, and the Saskatchewan CCF convention slapped the national leadership in the face by not supporting its treacherous stand. Subsequently the CCF brass hammered down the opposition by launching a witch hunt through which it eliminated the Rodney Young's, expelled the revolutionary socialists (the Trotskyists), in Ontario, and many others.

Now the delegates have an opportunity to straighten the record by committing the party to demand Canadian withdrawal from NATO. The national leadership's crime against the CCF, against the Canadian working class and the cause of socialism, cannot be wiped out. Their surrender before the warmongers and their traitorous attack on those who were prepared to fight is largely responsible for the precipitous decline of the CCF to its present sorry state. But the delegates can straighten the record and marshall the forces that can help to assure that the labor party, which is in the wings, enters onto the arena, not as a cold war party, but as a party that can be shaped into a powerful instrument against war.

The Workers Vanguard

Ban the Bomb Painter Fined Action Wins Cmttee Support

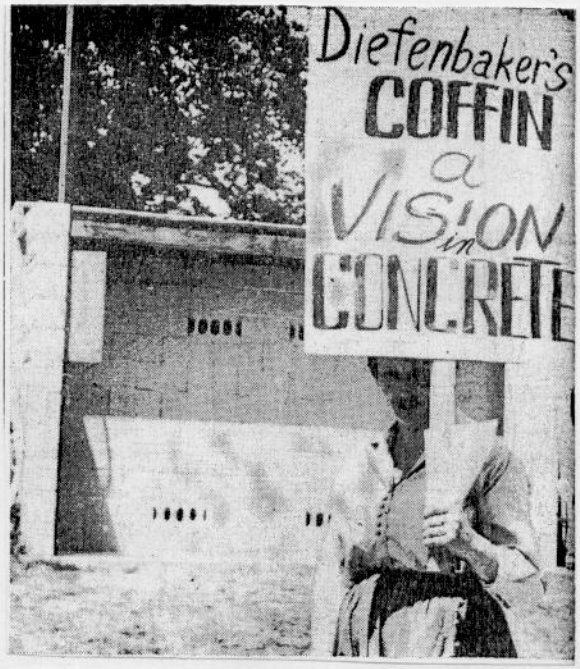
While a Toronto magistrate ordered Ernest Tate to pay $50 for painting the words Ban The Bomb on the Queen's Park demonstration fall-out shelter, David Gauthier, vice chairman of the Toronto Committee for Disarmament, and W. G. Dean of the University of Toronto Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, publicly defend his action.

Tate, who was represented by the eminent civil rights lawyer and national treasurer of the CCF, Andrew Brewin, defended his action in the court. From the evidence of such scientists as Linus Pauling, he said, the shelter was no protection, in fact, he felt it misled Canadians into believing they could survive nuclear war.

Ernest Tate

Dean said that "there is no protection in a nuclear war" and that he did not think Tate was morally guilty of the charge of malicious damage. He felt there was moral justification for the act. Gauthier said, while his committee was not recommending that its supporters paint anti-war slogans on buildings, "the spirit of Tate's action was in no way malicious."

The government's "Blue print for Survival" and civil defence projects, designed to foster the idea that we can survive an H Bomb war and thus underwrite the government's war-making policies, are meeting no response from the public. Metro authorities are already talking about how to handle citizens who defy their orders to take cover during the mass air raid drills beginning September. They want to enforce penalties from $10 to $500, or up to three months in jail, but there is no legislation empowering them to do so.



Every Saturday for the past month the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Educational League and friends, have been picketting the demonstration fall-out shelter at Queen's Park, Toronto. Their placards condemn the shelter as part of the government's psychological preparation of the people for war, demand No Nuclear Arms in Canada, etc.

The Workers Vanguard #57 Sept. 1960

PANEL ON FIGHT AGAINST WAR AT 'PEG WOODSWORTH CLUB

Quoting a slashing attack from James Minifie's book Peacemaker or Powdermonkey, chairman Armand Cote turned to the panel and asked them to comment on Canada's NATO and foreign policy. Held in the Winnipeg North Center CCF Hall, the panel was sponsored by the Woodsworth Club, a group of independent young socialists who put out the magazine The Canadian Democrat.

The panelists were Joe Rosenblatt and Cliff Cotton of the Socialist Educational League, Fred Winthrop of the Woodsworth Club, Don Currie, secretary of the Manitoba Communist Party and president of the Manitoba Young Communist League, and Howard Pawley of the Manitoba CCF.

Rosenblatt outlined the organic laws of capitalism which drive it towards war. The need of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, to invest more capital in other areas of the globe, the defense of present investments threatened by the rising tide of colonial revolution, the economic competition between the big powers, the trade war (called peaceful competition by Khrushchov) between the capitalist bloc and the Soviet areas, all are propelling capitalism to war.

Since capitalism is the source of the war drive Rosenblatt contended, in order to fight war we must fight against capitalism. A foreign policy in the interest of the Canadian people must link up their struggles against capitalism with the anti - imperialist struggles across the globe—in Cuba, Algeria, Africa, etc. He dissociated himself from both the two-power bloc theory held by the Communist and Social Democratic parties — that you must either go down the line with Wall Street or with the Soviet bureaucracy—and also the idea that we can be neutralist in the great conflicts of our times.

A socialist foreign policy, he said, would recognize the great achievements of the planned economies of the Soviet Union and China and support them against imperialism, but not the regimes of these states. Socialists must also support the Cuban and Algerian revolutions and seek to win them economic aid. Rosenblatt expressed solid agreement with the Winnipeg South CCF resolution favoring massive aid to the undeveloped countries.

Cliff Cotton saw the Canadian capitalist class as attempting to make up their loss in profits in other areas of the globe by intensifying the exploitation of the workers at home. He characterized the whole anti-labor drive across Canada as a reflection of the developing crisis confronting Bay and St. James streets on the world market.

Fred Winthrop attacked the veto power of the United Nations Security Council and saw the admission of Peoples China as increasing the veto power of the council.

The Young Communist League spokesman protested the continued exclusion of China from the UN. However, he defended the veto and especially the Soviet Union's use of it, which he alleged prevented a total war. He praised the United Nations as an instrument of peace, conveniently forgetting the UN "police action" in Korea. He attacked the Trotskyists with the old slander that they were anti-Soviet. He suggested that they were not aware of the power of the socialist camp, numbering hundreds of millions, to force imperialism to co-exist in peace.

Co-existence is not a respite, a drawn-out truce, as the Trotskyists had said, but a reality. It is co-existence or no existence. While he agreed with the SEL speaker that war stems from capitalism, had there been a socialist camp before World Wars I and II there would have been no war, he said.

The SEL speaker amplified his view that what has been called co-existence prevails because the anti-imperialist struggles were containing the forces of capitalism The struggle for peace, a permanent peace, lies in the overthrow of capitalism. He disagreed that the peace question had preference over the socialist question, with the latter being shelved. The only effective fight for peace is the fight against capitalism and in the direction of socialism.

Howard Pawley attacked NATO as a war alliance that should be scrapped. He urged the SEL and the CP to put their differences aside and fight as individuals for peace.

When the meeting was thrown open for questions, Rosenblatt and Currie were barraged with questions. Many of the questions directed to Currie were the familiar anti-Soviet slanders you read in the daily press. However, all in all the panel was a success because the audience could hear and participate in a living exchange of ideas, a testing of ideologies, to see for themselves which was superior.

Decry Support of Adenaurer German Socialists Regroup

Audere Zeitung, published in Hamburg by former members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, commented on the foreign affairs debate in the Bundestag, during which the SDP leadership announced its support of president Adenauer's policies.

It characterized the SDP's volte face as a "self-humiliation" of the party and condemned it as "a repetition of the voting for the war credits, August, 1914." The massive pre-World War I German socialist movement was considered the major bulwark against war by its sister parties everywhere. When it came out behind the Kaiser it staggered and disoriented the left across the world. Only Karl Leibknecht voted against the credits to make his name a symbol of revolutionary socialist intransigeance.

Audere Zeitung in its first issue called upon all those who were either expelled or left the SDP to regroup themselves. Among the sponsors of the new paper is Dr. Victor Agarts, formerly one of the leading theoreticians of the party and the trade union movement. The editors state that "the German social democracy can only be saved if the socialists in this organization make a clean break with those who betray socialism and the role and duties of an opposition party in West Germany at this time."

In a letter to Spiegel, which distorted their views, Rolf Fischer, one of the founding members of the group, wrote: "The regroupment of all left wing circles means in the first place, to unite all those who are against the atomic armament of Germany and for its peaceful re-unification. The main target is the creation of a national people's opposition. We have delayed the creation of a new party, but the present SDP leadership has made this step necessary.

Bring Cdn Forces Back Home from the Congo!

THE EDITORS

Twice within 10 days, Canadians attached to the UN forces in the Congo have been attacked. Canada's external affairs minister ridiculed the suggestion that Congolese troops attacked 12 men and two officers at Leopoldville under the impression that they were troops of their former exploiters, the Belgian imperialists. Without further explanation, he said: "It looks pretty deliberate."

Fortunately it remained an incident. It might have gone further but, as one of the soldiers said: "I could do nothing because our arms were taken." Since then a shoot-if-you-must order was issued to UN forces.

Ten days later, two Canadian signallers, along with eight U.S. airmen at Stanleyville, in the words of UN representative Ralph Bunche, "had the hell beaten out of them and were lucky to be alive." He added ominously: "I have never been anywhere where misunderstanding was so deep."

When the order-in-council authorizing the involvement of Canadian forces in the Congo dispute came before the senate (all parties in the commons endorsed it), Senator Roebuck cautioned: "Are we sending troops to the Congo to hold down the population in years to come? Are we creating a precedent? Are we to send troops in future to all places where governments are being overthrown by rebellion?"

Is that what Mr. Green meant when he said the attack on the Canadian troops was deliberate? Are the deep misunderstandings that Mr. Bunche feels, the rising conviction of the

See BRING OUR BOYS—page 3

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Bring Our Boys Back Home!

(Continued from page 1)

Congolese people that the UN, that Canadian troops, are merely replacing the hated Belgians?

Those Canadians on the spot sense that that is their role, and who knows better? A Canadian Press dispatch dated the day before the Stanleyville incident stated: "The Canadian contingent, anxious to go home, greeted with pleasure Lumumba's announcement that he wants UN troops to follow the Belgians out of the country."

Lumumba asked Diefenbaker for technicains but he got armed men. The Canadian people don't want to be used as policemen for imperialists, as jailers of African freedom fighters.

Sensing our uneasiness, the editors of the **Toronto Star** declare that "it is too early for Canadians to say 'bring our boys home.'" But if the matter is further delayed it may well be too late to bring them home except in coffins and before we are embroiled in a shameful war against the African peoples.

The time is now! Bring the Canadian troops home now!

Van

September, 1960 #57

CCF Convention Demands Canada Break from NATO Military Pact

By ALAN HARRIS

The delegates to the last national convention of the CCF committed the convention, and thus made an appeal to the people of Canada and the founding convention of the new party, to fight to break Canada from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. After a prolonged and sharp conflict with the entire leadership of the party, they voted 85 to 72 for a resolution which in part declared that "Since NATO has become a purely military organization, Canada should immediately withdraw from NATO . . ."

In order to deal with this crucial question, which hit the floor at about 3:30 on the final day, the delegates were compelled to sit without a break until 7 p.m. Even then the debate was constantly disrupted by elections of officers, with MLA and former Ontario provincial secretary Ken Bryden attempting to get the whole matter tabled for "lack of time."

In only a matter of hours after it took its stand, the newly elected national leader, Hazen Argue, repudiated the convention in a statement over a Regina TV broadcast that he did not consider the resolution binding, but merely a guide, as the national council had not had time to work out a policy on it.

But the delegates made their views clear and unmistakeable, and laid the foundations for a struggle to win the new party to an anti-war policy at its founding convention next year.

The CCF top brass did everything it could to block the rank and file, to cut out of the international resolution the clause which called for immediate withdrawal from NATO. When the convention broke up into panels, they concentrated their forces on the one dealing with international policy. Francis Eady, president of the Toronto and District CCF Council, moved to cut the sentence out of the resolution and substitute one that would urge amendments to the treaty to stress economic co-operation as well as what he referred to as "military co-ordination."

Winnipeg delegate Howard Pawley questioned as to how, what is essentially a military pact, could be reformed into its opposite—an economic plan. Alistair Stewart, who is an MP supported the pact, tried to honey-coat continued support of NATO by suggesting that, while it had been originally correct to support it, times had changed. It should be reviewed, but Canada should stay in it until this was done; give NATO one more chance, he appealed. President of the Quebec section, Harry Pope, even went further to soften-up the anti-war forces by suggesting agreement on de-atomization of NATO and withdrawal from NATO—six months from now—if no review of its character were made.

B.C. delegate Dorothy Steeves attempted to shame the leadership with the observation that the CCF was tailing the well-known bourgeois journalist, Minnifie. Back in 1949, in defiance of the national leadership, the B.C. section went on record as opposing the pact. She stated that the CCF should never have supported it. Gary Perly (Toronto-Broadview) scored both Pope and Stewart. NATO has had not one, but 200 chances, he said. Bringing a series of quotations by U.S. government and military figures urging pre-emptive war, to the attention of the delegates, he stressed that Canada should not get tied up with

See CCF RANKS—page 4

The Workers' Vanguard

September, 1960 Vol. 5, No. 9(57) 23 To

The Western Vanguard p.2 #57

The 1,000 delegates to the British Trade Union Congress, representing 8 million workers, have made certain the defeat of right wing Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell's policies at the coming party conference.

Not content with making the record for world disarmament they decided, by a vote of 4,356,000 to 3,213,000, to call on Britain to make the first move in this direction by disarming unilaterally. At the same time, while Canadian Labor Congress president Claude Jodoin looked on, they passed a resolution which called for not less but more nationalization of industry.

HUGH GAITSKELL

CCF Ranks Demand Canada Break from NATO Pact

(Continued from page 1)

American imperialism and should not support NATO, as it was a pure and simple military organization.

Several delegates, including Grace McInnis and the Saskatchewan minister of health, talked in terms of fighting a communist threat, not through NATO but the UN, and for a return to the pacifist policies of the party's founder, J. S. Woodsworth. National council member Frank Scott, while effectively ridiculing those who talk in terms of pacifism and at the same time, as a substitute to a NATO police force urge a UN police force, claimed that withdrawal from NATO would be an irresponsible act. He held out the hope that U.S. influence in NATO was declining, with Macmillan and de Gaulle intervening to change its character.

When the panel's recommendation that Canada withdraw from NATO hit the convention floor, just a few hours prior to scheduled adjournment, the top brass made every effort to defeat it. Eady made the same amendment he proposed in the panel. With their failure to pass the amendment Pope placed another which was essentially the same. In the main the debate was carried by youth, such as Jim Hardy of Regina, Daniel of Ottawa West, who challenged how those who claim to oppose nuclear armament can support NATO, whose strategy is based on nuclear arms, and Perly of Toronto, who ridiculed those who talk about extending its economic aid clauses when it was with just such empty clauses acceptance of the pact was put over in the first place.

The Saskatchewan section, just a couple of weeks prior to this assembly, went on record as favoring unilateral disarmament, cessation of all arms expenditures, withdrawal from NATO, dismantling of all U.S. bases and removal of all U.S. service personnel from Canada, and immediate withdrawal of Canadian forces from Europe. But Premier Douglas, the president of that section, in direct opposition to its stand, entered into the debate against the key sentence. He suggested that the resolution was some kind of appeasement of the Soviet Union which would endanger the lives of the German Social Democrats. What would Willie Brandt think if this resolution were passed, he queried? The red-baiting of the brass opened the door for one delegate to dare to challenge which side the CCF was on — the side of Khrushchov and Tim Buck?

As the question was called, Pope urgently appealed to the chair to bring in delegates from the corridors. While less than half the delegates voted, the majority voted for Canadian withdrawal from the NATO military alliance. In defiance of the entire leadership, the convention was put on record. Now this policy has to be implemented.

The Workers Vanguard

#58 Oct. 1960

Effective counter-demonstration by Vancouver militants

HITS OPENING OF CD SHELTER HOAX

Victory has been won by the friends and supporters of the Socialist Forum-Young Socialist Alliance weekly picket protesting the fallout shelter on Vancouver's court house lawn. On October 15 picketers found the shelter locked and unavailable for public inspection. The shelter was no longer there on October 17. It had been dismantled and carted away.

VANCOUVER—A protest demonstration completely shattered the effect of a ceremony addressed by leading Social Credit government figures officially opening a model fall-out shelter here on September 28. The structure had been erected on the court house lawn by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, to federal government specifications, as a model for citizens to duplicate.

Some 75 pickets turned out to demonstrate against the shelter. They held on high signs declaring: "We refuse to be Indoctrinated for War," "Millions for War—Why not for Peace," and demanding "No Nuclear Arms in Canada" and "Let the People Vote on Nuclear Arms."

Chanting "Ban the Bomb," and "There is no Defence," they drowned out BC provincial secretary Wesley Black as he attempted to speak over a microphone hooked up to a major radio network. Many passers-by gave shouts of encouragement and sympathy to the demonstrators.

When Mrs. Ruth Bullock left the line for a few minutes to tell provincial Civil Defense Co-ordinator G. A. McCarter what she thought about the shelters, a CBC television camera picked up the debate. That night TV viewers across the country watched a stuttering official grasping for answers to her explosive questions and charges. Her query as to how people could survive the shower of fallout that leading scientists claim would remain after they left the shelters, was left unanswered. So, too, was her statement that all vegetation would be inedible due to extreme contamination.

"This is a most contemptible hoax," she exclaimed. "It's psychological preparation for World War III."

Another picketer, Mrs. Carson Shugalo, told a VANCOUVER SUN reporter "I came here personally because I feel this silly structure is just another promotion for war, not a deterrent." She called it a barbecue pit that a stick of dynamite could destroy.

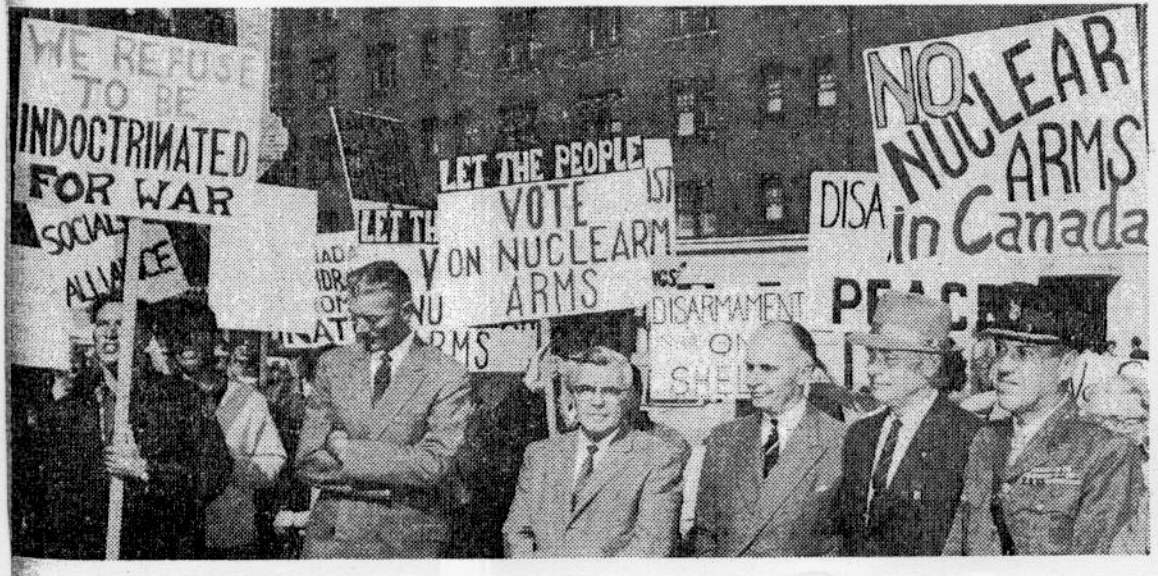
Mr. Black, at a luncheon meeting that followed the official opening ceremony, is reported in the Province to have made the absurd statement that the shelters are of use in an actual target area, and that to say they are of no use is to "wilfully mislead the civilian population."

A leaflet distributed by the Socialist Forum and the Young Socialist Alliance, and gladly received by friendly passers-by, pointed out that many leading scientists, Linus Pauling for one, have shown many times over that the shelters are not only useless against an atomic blast, but are also useless as protection from atomic fallout.

The leaflet also called for a plebescite on whether or not the Canadian forces should be armed with nuclear arms, and for withdrawal of Canada from all military alliances such as NORAD and NATO.

The picket line was supported by members of the Stanley Park CCF club, the BC Radiation Hazards Committee, and the BC Peace Council. Also present were the four Vanguard Trailblazers, in Vancouver at that time.

A crescendo of boos, and shouts of "McCarthyite," rent the air when



Brigadier J. W. Bishop, commander of BC Army Area, Municipal Affairs Minister W. D. Black, the acting mayor, and assorted dignitaries prepare to officially inaugurate a fall-out shelter on the court house lawn in downtown Vancouver. Enraged, frustrated, they are surrounded by picketers who gathered to protest that the ceremony was part of a campaign to psychologically prepare the Canadian people to accept the idea of a war and the colossal military expenditures by the government.

Shelter Hoax

(Continued from page 1)

Acting Mayor Earle Adams attempted to red-bait the picketers. In reply to his comment that "in a free country you can utilize your freedom to heckle and obstruct,' the group demanded that they be allowed to speak over the microphone, and that the people should be given the freedom to hear the view of those who think the shelters serve to bring World War III closer.

Although the real reason for the promotion of the shelters is to stimulate the cold war fears of the people, and thereby justify the Diefenbaker government's military expenditures, the shelter has now turned into a focal point for those who want to do something to prevent war, and believe the best place to start is here at home.

The Western Vanguard #59 Dec 1960

US Polaris Base in Britain Sharpens Differences is LP

By E. STRONG

The Macmillan government's agreement to the American State Department's setting up a base at Holy Loch, Firth of Clyde, Scotland, for nuclear-tipped Polaris missile submarines, has aroused the indignation of the British workers and sparked widespread opposition. The Trades Council of Glasgow states it is making plans for "the strongest possible protest" by 750,000 unionists. Protest marches are slated by the Scottish Youth Peace Campaign and the Glasgow Council for Nuclear Disarmament.

Macmillan's announcement comes at a time when the strong winds of anti-war sentiment are sweeping Britain, and have reached such force that the British Labour Party has broken with its previous policy of alignment with the Tories on the question of retaining the H Bomb as a "deterrent". Gaitskell, leader of the right wing Labour Party MP's in parliament, in refusing to lead the fight against the granting of the base, is blatantly violating the basic democratic procedures of the movement. He is threatening the party ranks with split by not adhering to and voicing the decisions of the October annual Labour Party Scarborough Conference.

The major issue at this conference was the party's defence policy. Over 160 resolutions were received from various constituency clubs and unions, demanding that the party take a stand against the continued nuclear arming of Britain. By a majority of 297,000 votes the delegates accepted a resolution which stated the "Conference demands that the government should press for an international agreement on complete disarmament, and in the meantime, demands the unilateral renunciation of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and basing of all nuclear weapons in Great Britain," (our emphasis). This major policy change was a resounding

See GAITSKELL—page 2

victory for left wing forces and is a major step in a socialist direction.

The most prominent spokesman for the new defense policy is Frank Cousins of the Transport and General Workers Union. Once under the control of Ernest Bevin and Arthur Deakin, this union was a conservative bloc in the labour movement. Now Cousins has assumed leadership of the union at a time when the working class is feeling confident, and at a time when the class struggle is sharpening.

The Seamen's strike and the recent struggle in the St. Pancras area in London by workers against evictions, indicate that the workers are on the move to the left. Because of the pressure from the workers, the trade union bureaucracy (and this is not only true of the Transport Workers) is forced to adopt policies which, to a greater degree, reflect the needs of the workers.

Once the union leadership, with their bloc votes, were the backbone of the right wing at the annual conventions and now there is a split between them and the parliamentary leaders.

At the conference, Gaitskell unashamedly stated that he would refuse to accept conference decisions. There have been numerous demands in the party that he be removed from the leadership. A resolution passed by local Labour Party leaders in London declared that Gaitskell's "removal is now esential to the progress and unity" of the movement.

MP Sidney Silverman, chairman of the Victory for Socialism group, warned that the group would not acede to a leadership that does

—p. 2

Vancouver—
YOU'RE ALWAYS WELCOME AT
The Socialist Information Center
875 E. HASTINGS ST.

The Militant Vanguard #59

Gaitskell Threatens Labor Party With Split Over Arms Policy

p. 2

not accept party policy. Anthony Greenwood resigned from the Labour Party "shadow cabinet" and stated he will not stand for re-election to it if Gaitskell is still leader. Konni Zilliacus said of Gaitskell after the debate on defense at Scarborough, "This man, with his arrogance and his fanaticism and his fanatical beliefs that the way to peace is through H Bomb power politics is a pawn of the US and has got to be removed from the leadership."

During the debate on the anti-H Bomb resolution, Gaitskell launched into a vicious diatribe, red-baiting his opponents, calling them "fellow travellers". This was met with boos from an aroused and indignant delegation.

At the conference, the right-wing sustained another major defeat. When the British Labor Party was defeated in the last general election, Gaitskell quickly blamed the nationalization policy for it and proposed that Clause Four, the clause which bound the party to this policy, be deleted from the constitution. This met with such hostility from the membership that the leadership was forced to back track and water down its proposal.

The two major unions at Scarborough, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the General Transport Workers, both, at their respective annual conventions, had passed resolutions calling for an extension of nationalization to other industries.

Gaitskell's substitute for Clause Four, which opened the door to the idea that the state could buy its way to socialism by buying shares in the capitalist enterprises, was referred back to the incoming NEC. Clause Four stays in the constitution.

A composite resolution, voted on and passed by the conference stated: "This conference re-affirms its belief in the establishment of a Socialist Commonwealth founded on the common ownership and democratic control of the principal resources of the nation . . . As a guide to the NEC, the conference reaffirms its support of the public ownership of steel and road transport and also requests them to re-examine public ownership measures, including land, insurance, chemicals, key sections of the engineering industry such as machine tools and the building industry."

Active in the fight for a socialist policy in the Labor Party is the Socialist Labor League. This is an organization of trade union militants, and Marxists which has consistently fought, since its formation, against the leadership's betrayal of socialist principles. The SLL publishes the weekly THE NEWSLETTER.

Under pressure from the bosses, the leadership of the Labor party has bludgeoned and expelled its critics—especially the Marxists.

The SLL, along with is press, is proscribed in the party. Anyone associating with either the paper or the organization is liable to expulsion.

Gerry Healy, national secretary, writing in the Newsletter, calls for "a united struggle by all sections of the labor movement such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Labor League, Left Labor Party members, to lift the bans and proscriptions and restore the rights of socialist organizations to affiliate to the Labour Party". He calls for consolidation by the left wing of its victories. He demands that the movement should not tolerate a leadership which is in opposition to its policies.

Referring to the decision of the conference to press for more nationalization, he states "This is a useful beginning. Socialism in Britain demands the nationalization of all basic industries, the establishment of workers' control in these industries and the non-payment of compensation to former owners exception in needy cases." He goes on to say how the struggle against the H Bomb is part of the overall fight against the Tories and capitalism. "The application", he emphasizes, "of the unilateral answer to the bomb means the broadening out of the struggle against the H Bomb to include the nationalization of the giant capitalist enterprises which must be incorporated in a socialist ecomony."

Protest Threats Against Cubans

Picketers appeared simultaneously on November 5 at Vancouver in front of the American Consulate and across the continent in Toronto in front of the American consulate there. They protested the threatening actions of the US State Department against tiny Cuba and expressed their solidarity with the Cuban people's struggle. Both demonstrations got TV coverage over CBC TV.

The Vancouver picketers, organized by the Friends of Cuba Committee, and the Toronto picket, composed of members and friends of the Young Socialist Alliance, passed out attractive leaflets and invited all to join.

Passing-by Vancouver pedestrians and motorists, attracted by the striking placards carried by the demonstrators, gave friendly encouragement. The placards bore slogans which fell into two categories; non-intervention by the US in Cuba, and lifting of the economic embargo imposed by the US on Cuba.

The idea of non-intervention was expressed by such slogans as: Guatemala, Lebanon, Now Cuba? No!; Pull All US Troops Out of Cuba; and Hands off Cuba. Slogans such as Aid, Not a Blockade; Remove the Economic Quarantine, expressed the demand that Cuba be given a chance to raise the living standards of its people. The leaflet pointed out the shameful role played by the Diefenbaker government in submitting to the embargo.

On the second Saturday the picket, larger and carrying more placards, was warned by the police against distributing the leaflet as it would be in violation of the anti-litter bylaw.

Participating in the first two pickets were friends and supporters of various CCF clubs in Vancouver and the Young Socialist Alliance. Since then the members of several youth clubs have expressed their interest in participating in future actions.

"DISARM or DIE!"

-- Rt. Hon. Philip Noel - Baker,
Winner, NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

You can

Demand Sanity!

Say NO to arms race!

Say YES to disarmament!

JOIN OUR MARCH FOR PEACE

AT 2:00 P. M.

Saturday, April 1st, 1961

Outside Convocation Hall, University of Toronto.

The marchers, in a DEMONSTRATION FOR SURVIVAL, will then proceed to City Hall, where they will be addressed by:

RABBI ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG

Sponsored by:

TORONTO COMMITTEE FOR DISARMAMENT

COMBINED UNIVERSITIES CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT,
CANADIAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

Make your voice heard! Detach the portion below and mail to:

Rt. Hon. John Diefenbaker,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:

Because an increasing number of thoughtful people believe that nuclear weapons will likely be used unless there is a disarmament agreement, and because this likelihood is increased as more nations have access to such weapons, I strongly urge that the Government of Canada:

1. declare that it will not equip Canadian Armed Forces with nuclear weapons,
2. refuse to allow any other nation to test or store nuclear weapons on our soil.
3. press for an international agreement for the control and eventual abolition of nuclear weapons.

WE SHOULD VOTE ON NUCLEAR ARMS

Says J. B. Witchell to 2,000 in Vancouver

By PAUL MACPHERSON

"Canadians must be allowed to vote on whether they want nuclear arms in Canada," declared John B. Witchell to 2,000 people in Vancouver. Witchell's proposal got a warm response from the audience who were looking for some means of mobilizing the Canadian people in a struggle to keep nuclear weapons out of Canada.

The February 9th meeting in the posh Queen Elizabeth Auditorium, which was sponsored by the B.C. Committees on Radiation Hazards, heard Witchell state that the government must grant this national referendum because this is a democratic country. Then the overwhelming majority of Canadians will vote NO to nuclear arms in Canada.

John B. Witchell is a professional engineer, who quit his $6,900 a year job with the Canadian Defense Research Board in 1959 rather than go along with the government's military policies. Despite his having a wife and six children to support, and a good job with many years seniority, Witchell was compelled by his conscience to speak out against the government's "actively pursuing a policy that leads straight to war." A policy which he declares is "not a defence policy."

He stated that this policy must be changed, or, if it is not, then the government must be changed. He said that the Diefenbaker government may be using Mr. Green's efforts in the UN on disarmament as a "smoke screen," knowing that these efforts are doomed to failure. Then Diefenbaker can attempt to justify the nuclear arming of Canada by saying "well, we have tried."

Speaking about the hopes raised in people's minds by the new Kennedy administration, both Witchell and the other featured speaker, Professor Gordon Kaplan of Dalhousie University, pointed out that the Kennedy administration "appears ready" to perpetuate the same old policies of the Eisenhower regime. Witchell went on to describe one of the projects that the Kennedy administration is pushing ahead—a hovering bomb satellite. This satellite H bomb will hover over a city like the sword of Damocles. A flip of a switch is all that would be necessary to destroy millions of people.

Professor Kaplan dealt mainly with the dangers of radiation and the folly of dumping atomic wastes in the sea. He exposed how the University of B.C. authorities had been secretly dumping radioactive waste materials in the Pacific off Vancouver Island.

Kaplan called Canadian Defense Minister Douglas Harkness' attacks on ban the bomb movements an example of primitive thinking. Referring to a statement by Dr. Scrum of UBC that only communists support ban the bomb movements, he said that "we should not suffer fools gladly" and that this type of thinking was the "product of a sick mind." If only communists are in favor of banning the bomb then we would be fools not to be communists, he said.

Kaplan held up Dr. Edwin Teller, AEC nuclear scientist, and proponent of bomb testing, as an example of "the liars, hypocrites and fools who advocate survival of the human race through a program of underground bomb shelters."

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WHY NOT A VOTE ASKS CCF LEADER

"Why, for example, should Canadians not decide whether or not we want American nuclear bases to be established in Canada? Why should we not be deciding whether or not we want to commit racial suicide by roasting or poisoning the world's people by nuclear explosions and fall out," asks William Irvine in his December 21 column, regularly appearing in the SASKATCHEWAN CCF COMMONWEALTH. "We are asked to vote on who shall govern Canada. . ."

NTL Fair Play for Cuba Cmtte Launched at Toronto Mass Ral

The Fair Play For Cuba Committee launched in Toronto last month took a giant step forward with a mass meeting held in the First Unitarian Congregation on February 19th. Almost 400 turned out to hear guest speaker Samuel Shapiro, professor of history at Michigan State University, and a well-known writer on Latin American affairs, speak on Perspectives for Cuba.

The meeting was opened by Vernal Olson, chairman of the committee, who read to the interested audience a series of letters from prominent Canadians expressing their solidarity with its aims. Of the original sponsors, which included Professor Kenneth McNaught of the history department of the University of Toronto, the Reverend John Morgan of the First Unitarian Congregation, and Professor L. Dewart of the philosophy department, St. Michael's College, U of T, only the latter was able to attend.

Now Farley Mowat, one of Canada's best known and most controversial and stimulating writers, has joined the committee along with William Irvine, honorary president of the Alberta CCF, former MP and original in the Ginger group which led to the formation of the CCF; Professor William Bedwell of St. John's College University of Manitoba; Frank Hanson, editor in chief of the weekly COMMONWEALTH, published by the Saskatchewan CCF, and Orville Braaten, editor of the PULP AND PAPER WORKER, published by the Western Canada Council of Pulp and Paper Mill Unions in BC.

The cross-country response to the committee has been even more heartening than the initiating group had anticipated, said Mr. Olson. He read correspondence from a University of British Columbia student, Robert Horne, of the important progress being made on that campus, the good prospects of launching a committee on the University of Manitoba campus, and told of the numerous and enthusiastic gatherings that he and other spokesmen of the committee had addressed in the Toronto area.

On the basis of this response he told the assembly that the committee would be constituting itself as a center for a national FPFCC movement and was now in the process of arranging the first tour to Cuba, so that at reasonable rates Canadians would be able to see for themselves all the developments on the island republic.

Sharing the platform with Professor Shapiro was Richard Gibson of New York, who extended warm and official greetings of the American FPFCC to the Toronto committee and audience, Mrs. P. Mitchell, who made the collection speech, and Dr. F. F. Sypher who thanked the speaker.

Following Dr. Shapiro's stimulating address and able handling of questioners, among whom were some avowed Batistaites—one of them the editor of the scandal sheet TAB—Mr. Olson presented a resolution to the audience. It expressed support of the Cuban people's struggle to liberate selves from the oppression a ploitation of centuries, and that the Diefenbaker goverr grant extensive loans and a the Cuban government which also help to alleviate the se unemployment in Canada. resolution was adopted a unanimously.

Mr. Olson urged all thos terested in the work of the mittee to join it through FP Box 923, Adelaide Street Pos fice, Toronto, Ont.

Citizen of '58

Canada's Citizen of the Y Toronto dropped in to see Morris Zeidman who admi Standing in the line-up ou employed friend, Patrick T of the year 1961. Ruddick, heroic actions during the stayed on there but has four he had been across the c work.

UN COMPRISED IN LUMUMBA MURDER

To the admission of the shocking murder of Patrice Lumumba and two of his aides, which set off protest demonstrations across the world, the UN has confessed that the Kasavubu government, which it recognized last November, is gravely implicated in the murder of at least six more Lumumba government officials in South Kasai.

Thus the destruction of what was the officially elected government of the Congolese Republic is almost complete. It was recognized as such when Lumumba himself came to the UN and to Canada last summer seeking aid. It was recognized as such when the UN intervened in the Congo, with the support of the Soviet delegate, with the alleged purpose of preventing chaos and keeping the cold war out of the African continent.

Now the government and almost all its key personnel have been destroyed. The economy has been shattered. Everywhere there is chaos. Tribal warfare is rife—sections of the population are starving.

Today, after seven months of intervention, the UN is authorized to strengthen its personnel in the Congo, to use force if necessary, to reorganize Congolese armed forces, to more vigorously press for the withdrawal of Belgian and all other foreign military advisors. There is talk about trusteeship, the formation of some "loose federal government."

US Ambassador to the UN, Adlai Stevenson, presents the UN as "the only institution which offers an alternative to imperialism." But the record shows that in effect UN intervention has only served as a mask to imperialist intervention and is in effect an instrument of imperialist policy.

The old Belgian imperialist exploiters blocked the formation of a strong central government through their puppet Tshombe who proclaimed the mineral rich Katanga province a separate country. They are paying no more attention to the UN than De Gaulle when the question of Algeria has come up, than the South African government to discussions on its apartheid policies, than the US when it moved into Guatemala, or Britain and France when they launched their assault on the Suez.

Tshombe is building up armed

See page 4—UN IN CONGO

Jobless Wo Shorter Wo

With the first spring z sharply soaring unemployme of pious chatter. Unemploym grave social question that it i unemployed themselves.

But it will not be shovec seasonal adjustment show up ment insurance commission. disease in the body of capital a phenomenon associated wi year, or with any particular situation confronting us has t

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The Diefenbaker goverr sponsibility in this matter. T the problem have been to pu insurance payroll to harass a to move through its legal ch workers—in Ontario some 2 ployed—at trades for which t

But two serious proposit

See page 3—SH

TRUTH ON CUBA

Castro has "changed the history of our continent" more in two years than it had been changed in the century, according to Father R. J. Ogle, rector of the St. Pius Seminary, Saskatoon. He told Kiwanians that Latin America is "in a state of almost open explosion" and that nobody should be fooled by the fact that other Latin American countries were breaking off relations with Cuba. They don't represent the people.

Vanguard

Mid-March, 1961 Vol. 6, No. 2(62) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

BC Labor Urges NP Adopt Unilateral Disarmament

The delegates to the Vancouver Labor Council have expressed sharp disagreement with the Canadian Labor Congress leadership's position that Canada should remain tied to the NATO military alliance. By an overwhelming majority, at their March 21 meeting, they passed a resolution that originated from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and was endorsed by the council executive. It expressed a powerful desire that the new party should take a clear stand for unilateral disarmament. A motion to table the resolution was defeated by a wide margin and it was adopted as amended. The resolution follows:

Whereas the CCF national convention, held in Regina in 1960, called for Canada to withdraw from NATO, NORAD and all such regional alliances and to refuse acceptance of nuclear arms for Canada, and

Whereas the Fifth Convention of the BC Federation of Labor held in Vancouver in 1960 also called for total disarmament for Canada,

Therefore be it resolved that the Vancouver and District Labor Council goes on record as endorsing this policy of unilateral disarmament for Canada, and

Further be it resolved that the Vancouver and District Labor Council immediately inform the national liaison committee of the CLC for the New Party that it is the wish of labor in British Columbia that the proposed policy on international affairs to be presented to the founding convention of the new party include unilateral disarmament for Canada.

Amendment: That the money saved by this policy should be utilized to build homes, hospitals, schools, etc., with a substantial portion sent to the support of the United Nations.

There were several strong speeches attacking the UN as an instrument of imperialism. Bill Stewart of the Marineworkers, a leading CPer, defended the UN with the argument —"its all we have . . . We don't want to smash the UN—only the reactionaries in the US are preparing to do that."

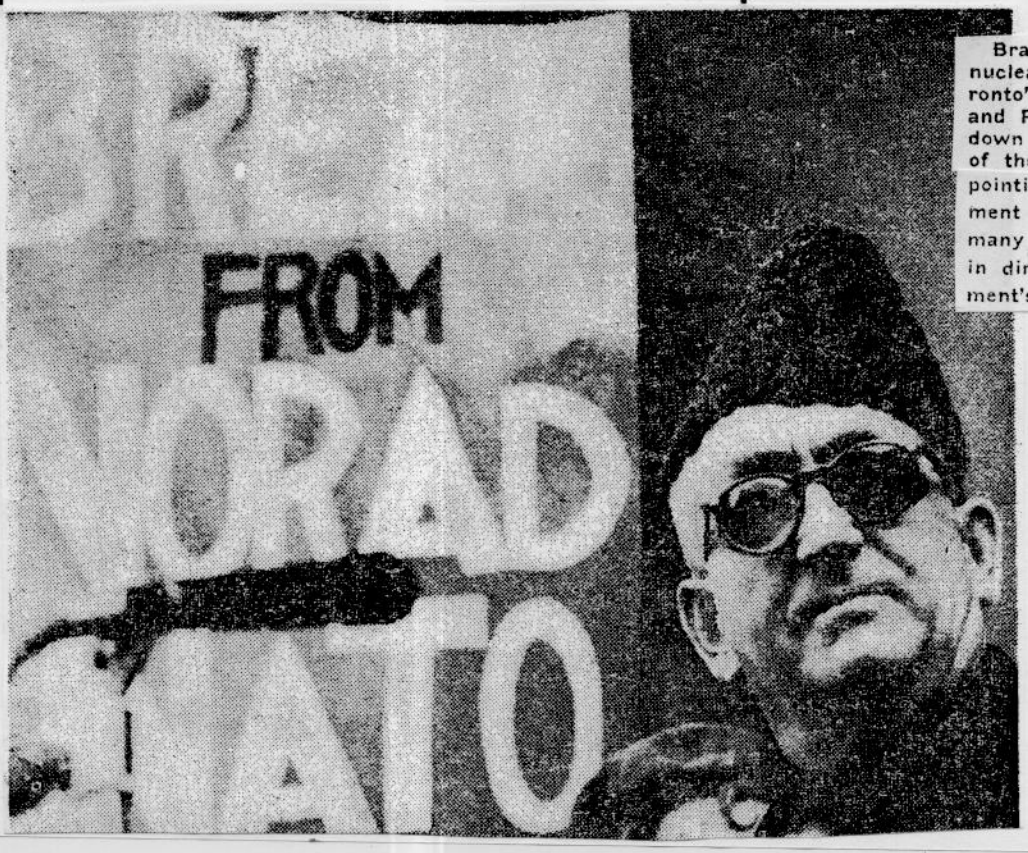
ANTI-BOMB MARCH ACROSS COUNTRY

The anti-bomb, the anti-nuclear war movements across Canada moved out onto a higher plane with a series of marches and demonstrations on April 1st. For the first time, in all major cities across the country, protest marchers appeared in the streets, linking themselves to the massive and expanding demonstrations that have become an annual event in England. Over a thousand marched through slush and rain down Toronto thoroughfares to swell to a crowd of 2,000 at city hall square. More than 1,000 gathered in Lafontaine Park in Montreal, some 500 marched in both Regina and in Vancouver, and several hundred in Winnipeg.

Until these demonstrations, the general policy of the varied groups has been to respectfully appeal to the government and to even identify Ottawa with an anti-nuclear arms policy—one of the groups has even been patronized by the prime minister and his minister of external affairs while he has proceeded with the Bomarc bases and the nuclear armament of Canadian forces

But these marches took on the form of an appeal to the people of Canada and attempted to mobilize them—in actuality against the government and its commitments to the Pentagon's arms drive. They reflect an increasing recognition that the old policies have failed.

Breaking out of its former narrow, respectable circles, the movement as a whole demonstrated, in the various placards appearing in the marches, a more real assessment of the problem. The general character of the Toronto demonstration was unilateralist. The demand that Canada withdraw from NORAD and NATO had strong support among the participants, and for the first time the demand that the people vote on the question of nuclear arms appeared—one that will win support.



Braving a chilling rain, nearly 2,000 anti nuclear arms demonstrators gathered in Toronto's city hall square to hear Rabbi Feinberg and Professor McNaught, following their march down Yonge St. Despite Feinberg's presentation of the peace issue as being above politics, by pointing to the mock differences within government circles, this demonstration highlighted many placards such as the above which were in direct conflict with the Diefenbaker government's arms drive.

WHAT KIND OF POLICY FOR NP?

Must be Anti-Capitalist, a Socialist Party

says Johnson of Alberta

"The problems of 1933 that confronted the founding convention of the CCF are still with us," declares **Alberta CCF Leader Floyd Johnson**—(problems that caused the delegates to commit the CCF not to "rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning" and to "stand resolutely against wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism."—Editor)

"Today not only does the worker suffer the same problems—he also has in many cases a burden of debt . . . The same is true of the farmer—if he is still a farmer . . . What about the small businessman? He is smaller today than ever. He has been squeezed to the point of extermination . . . The big shots have become bigger shots and loaded with a heavier charge. The private corporate control over the Canadian economy has steadily increased until it now reaches nearly 75 per cent . . .

"If there are problems that require effective solutions there should be no reluctance to take the necessary steps . . . There are no new solutions . . .

"Getting elected to power, must of course, be a major objective. But to make our basic principle and our major goal that of 'getting elected' would be a disaster. If we who are building the New Party have come to truly believe . . . that the competitive, geared-to-profit system is a good system, requiring only a few reforms to make it serve the people, then there is no need for us to build a New Party—we have three parties now, each pledged to make the capitalist system work for the benefit of all Canadians."

says Chartrand of Quebec

Canada's outward appearance of affluence while at the same time large sections of the Canadian and world population suffer substandard living conditions and poverty are by-products of a profit-oriented capitalist system characterized by monopoly, unemployment and economic exploitation, according to **Michel Chartrand, leader of the Quebec Partie Social Democratique.**

The answer lies neither in the policy of Washington nor in that of Moscow but in a humane socialist economy promoted by the CCF and the new party.

says Cameron of B.C.

"The New Party will go the way of other progressive movements if it is turned into a neo-liberal party," says **Colin Cameron, former BC MLA, MP for Nanaimo, and member of the provincial council of the BC CCF.**

". . . so long as ultimate power rests in the boardrooms of corporations it will make little difference to daily life which party forms the government . . .

"The replacement of the corporation by public authorities and co-operative enterprises is clearly the next item on the agenda for Western society. Nothing less than this is an adequate reason to be for a new political party in Canada at this time."

New Party leader aspirant, HAZEN ARGUE

Argue Speaks Up on The Key Issues

Who to choose — CCF Leader Hazen Argue, or Saskatchewan Premier T. C. Douglas — as leader of the new labor party? It is apparent that the contest will be between these two. It is also apparent that Douglas is the favorite son of the CCF-New Party machine, if only from the whole series of petty organizational

The Workers Vanguard #63 July 1961

Must Take Clear Stand Against War Drive

Break from NATO Now!

says Bronson of Alberta

In human history it is difficult to find a 'peacetime' record of international violence and crime comparable to that displayed by the NATO powers in the past few years," according to **Harold Bronson of the Alberta CCF.**

"In the Congo particularly, the actions of the leading NATO powers have rendered completely impractical the various proposals for world government and a world police force . . .

"The record has also demonstrated that there is no probability of NATO becoming an economic rather than a military mechanism. It was created to defend capitalism by force, and both Kennedy and Macmillan have recently decided to strengthen that force.

"Hazen Argue has accurately described the now 'dead' economic clause in NATO as having been from the first 'little more than a sop.' Even if it were not, why should any socialist be anxious to strengthen the economic foundations of capitalism?

"Sooner or later these forces will push the nuclear button or its equivalent unless we stop them. NATO must go before its would-be suicides take the rest of us on the same ride."

says Fawcett of Lakehead

"The proposed foreign policy of the New Party calls for a 're-appraisal' of NATO. This is presumed to be designed to prevent a 'split' in the New Party", says **George Fawcett of Fort William.** "It could be a subterfuge to remain in NATO and to continue to support NATO's inadequacies.

" . . . NATO is well on the road to becoming a repository for nuclear weapons, either as a fourth nuclear power on its own account, or armed with nuclear rocket submarines by the United States.

"Since a 'breakthrough' in the drift to nuclear war is imperative and necessary, the New Party will be well advised to renounce NATO at once, rather than later."

says Pawley of Manitoba

"The new party program on foreign affairs does not measure up to the criterea set by us who believe Canada should adopt new policies to meet new needs of the day . . . The new party draft program is badly amiss on the NATO issue," declares **Howard R. Pawley, former president of the Manitoba CCF.**

"What is the point of claiming that you won't remain in NATO if it is an organization possessing nuclear weapons. Isn't it true that England, France and United States, all members of NATO, possess nuclear weapons and would undoubtedly use them if a third world war errupted . . .

"The draft program suggests Canada join the OAS. It appears that the only nation actively seeking Canada's participation therein, is the USA. Her purpose is obvious, to add one more non-Latin member in order to gain sufficient support to snuff out the social revolution in Cuba, and kill any others in the bud. For Canada to jump at Kennedy's pleas to join, would be to meekly endorse the Kennedy doctrine of intervention in the affairs of nations in the western hemisphere which the Pentagon believes to be Communist dominated. Witness Guatemala and Cuba. Think likewise of what would happen to Canada if Barry Goldwater became president of the US and the New Party formed the government in Canada and nationalized American investment and simultaneously withdrew Canada from the arms race.

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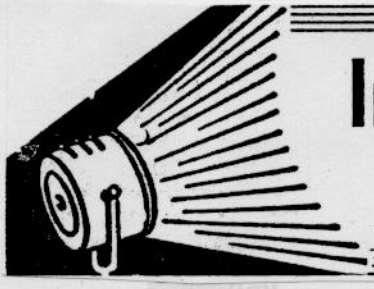

International Comments

DISPUTE IN LAOS

After first showing how desperate he was to keep Laos under U.S. control by threatening the world with another Korea-type war, President Kennedy has now reverted to new ways of maintaining Washington's domination there.

Washington is now negotiating with Soviet and Chinese leaders in the hope of making a deal with them that will force the rebel Pathet Lao movement to give up its hard gotten gains.

Pathet Lao is the only movement within the country that represents or has the support of the people. The Laotian army cannot even be induced to fight against them in the jungles. And yet, U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, has prevented them from participating in the current negotiations in Geneva. To do so, he exclaimed, would be tantamount to admitting them to any future government — something the U.S. is unwilling to permit.

Efforts by Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia to let the Laotian parties involved settle their own problems have met solid resistence from the U.S. Right wing and so-called "neutralist" elements in Laos have also refused to negotiate with Pathet Lao.

On May 22nd, Sihanouk warned that unless these parties agree on a coalition government, the revolutionary forces will win. "It (Laos) will be completely lost to the free world in a few weeks," he stated.

Instrumental in implementing U.S. policy is the International Control Commission (ICC), representing Canada, India and Poland. Its task at present is to police a cease fire.

According to the May 27th **Globe and Mail**, "the United States and to some extent other western powers, want . . . to give wide powers to the team . . ." Since Poland has no veto power within the ICC, this could well mean that Canada and India would in the future rule the country for the U.S.

The past role of the ICC was to close its eyes to all violations by the U.S., of the 1954 Geneva agreement, under which Laos was to remain neutral. In 1959 when it looked like the Pathet Lao was going to win the coming elections, Washington poured millions of dollars, personnel and military equipment into the country. This was all used to support the overthrow of the neutralist government of Souvanha Pouhma, and to back the coup of militarist right winger Phui Sananikone. The Pathet Lao was outlawed and driven into the jungles and the ICC was folded up.

Canada's role in the ICC and at Geneva is nothing more than a camouflage to cover Washington's diplomatic manoeuvers to keep Laos from going left and undermining SEATO. It further hides the possibility of direct U.S. armed intervention, should Kennedy's negotiating methods fail.

New Labor Party Great Leap Forward

By ROSS DOWSON

The only real strength that the working people possess is their great numbers and their unity While they produce all the wealth of the country they have no real control over any aspect of their lives. This lies firmly in the hands of a tiny handful of Canadian capitalists who, in collusion with foreign capitalists, own and manipulate the vast resources of the nation, the government and all its appendages, to serve their interests.

The chief strength of capitalism is the disunity of those who do the work, the conflicts, the antagonisms that it consciously promotes amongst those upon whom it battens.

With the founding of the new party and it becoming a mighty force all this can be transformed and Canada can become a truly united nation, united against poverty, and exploitation, against the common enemy — capitalism — both at home and abroad.

The Canadian Labor Congress encompasses almost 1¼ million workers in its ranks but there are hundreds of thousands of organized workers who are not part of it. Through the new party this costly division can be overcome. The new party can mobilize the youth, the thousands of pensioners, the working farmer, in united struggle for a commonwealth of labor.

This is the promise of the new party. But already there is talk about "split", about a "brawl" between the socialists and the reformists, the remnants of the CCF and labor, between the West and the East.

Differences in the party, yes! But not a brawl and split. The unity of the party and the assurance that it can and will be a genuine instrument for social change lies in its democracy. The greatest danger to the party are those who think that unity can be organized, that unity means the quietening down, the harassing, even the suppression of minority views.. The strength of the party consists in the confidence that all ideas are given a hearing, that decisions genuinely and accurately reflect the will of the participants.

The new party founding convention opens up with a great debate on the nature of Canadian society and the role Canada should play in the world. Whatever the outcome of this debate the launching of the new party and the building of a grass roots structure opens up unparalleled opportunities to the workers of Canada.

Greetings and solidarity to the founding convention of the new party from the League for Socialist Action!

Hotel Strikers Rebuff CPR Need Labor Solidarity to Win

Some 500 Royal York Hotel strikers, mostly women, jeered and booed as they heard the CPR bosses' first offer after 11 weeks of walking the picket line. Following their unanimous rejection of what the international vice-president of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, Archie Johnstone, denounced as "terms for unconditional surrender . . . worse than what MacArthur gave the Japanese after dropping the atomic bomb," they rose in solid ranks to hit the streets and parade down and around the massive Toronto hotel yelling and shaking their fists in defiance.

The workers hissed and booed the management's return to work offer clause by clause, loudest when they heard that some 250 of their number in 96 classifications would be excluded from any new agreement, that the hotel would be an open shop with management having a free hand to hire non-union help, that instead of the former week's notice management would be allowed to lay off with only four hours' notice and that some 300 scabs would be kept on and the former employees rehired "only as jobs became available."

This slave labor offer came out of the first meeting between the strikers' representatives and management held two days earlier. This meeting, arranged by Ontario Labor Minister Charles Daley, which he attended along with Chief Conciliation Officer Louis Fine, A. R. Johnstone and CPR representative Angus MacKinnon, had been preceded by another strike-breaking move on the part of management.

In flagrant defiance of the law which declares that strikers on a lawful strike remain employees not liable to dismissal, the Royal York bosses sent all employees a registered letter. It contained two forms — one a re-application for work, the other a resignation — and an accompanying letter ordering each striker to mail back one or the other form.

Union leaders proudly declared that they did not know of one striker who had returned a form.

The strikers cheered Johnstone when he declared some weeks ago that the strike has "been too dignified" and "it's time to take off the gloves". But these have remained mere words.

The leadership hasn't made a move to break the deadlock. In fact Johnstone turned thumbs down when Toronto Labor Council delegates such as Fred Prentice (UAW) called for a mass picket line, with Murray Tate, chairman of the municipal committee, visualizing one that would "make our Labor Day parade look anemic", and another delegate demanded the setting of a date. Johnstone went out of his way to uphold the right of guests to enter and leave the hotel and raised the scare that the government might retaliate with anti-picket-legislation.

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IWA Local Quits Van. Labor Body

The Vancouver Labor Council (CLC) is threatened with the loss of its second largest affiliate, the New Westminster local of the International Woodworkers, Local 1357. According to its president, Joe Madden, a recent membership meeting voted to disaffiliate and seek a charter for a New Westminster labor council.

Madden gave as the reason, the council's stand against selling Vancouver's part of the airport to the federal government, a position which the New Westminster local itself held up until

see QUIT VLC—p. 6

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The Workers Vanguard

Mid-July 1961 Vol. 6, No. 5 (65) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

NO SUPPORT OF NATO OR OAS SOCIALISM THE ISSUE: ARGUE

Socialism versus free enterprise will be one of the main issues of the next federal election, according to CCF leader and now aspirant to the leadership of the new party, Hazen Argue. Picking up the challenge flung by Prime Minister Diefenbaker several months ago, he said he did not believe the emotional response of the Canadian people to the word socialism was more negative than the response to the word capitalism. Mr. Argue stated that while Mr. Diefenbaker talked free enterprise (the prime minister made it clear that what his government does it does for free enterprise), the legislation that he felt appealed most to the public was of a socialistic nature.

There is no use in the new party ceasing to refer to itself as socialist. "If we did, would John (Diefenbaker) believe us?" Argue asked.

These statements were made to the Toronto press immediately prior to his address to a mass meeting called by Toronto new party youth clubs and attended by some 250, despite the heat and humidity on July 18. Argue was introduced by Dick Fidler who informed the audience of the stand taken by the youth clubs that the new party should adopt an anti-NATO, anti-war policy at the coming convention and expressed the hope that it would win his generation with the inspiration and vision of a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

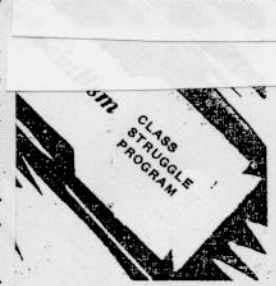
Argue's free wheeling and militant address was a strong bid for a left new party policy and support of his candidature by Toronto area delegates, many of whom were in attendance.

He won round after round of applause as he declared that he hoped that the new party convention would take a position that Canada should withdrawn from NATO immediately and would oppose nuclear arms on Canadian soil. He scored U.S. President Kennedy for sponsoring the counter-revolutionary assault on Cuba, for not being prepared to live with the Cubans, who he said have taken the "essential step", that of control of their own economy. Any quarrel with Cuba, he urged, should be taken to the UN, despite the rough treatment received there by the Cubans who wisely relied on it in no way but prepared their people with arms in hand.

He scored Liberal Leader Pearson who expressed opposition to the unilateral character of the assault on Cuba from the position that it should have been handled through the Organization of American States. Argue took a firm stand against new party commitment to OAS membership.

He vigorously identified himself with the draft program commitment to guarantee full employment and exposed the opposition as those who control property and fear they may have to pay the cost for this essential action. Referring to the chairman's observations that Canada is not an affluent society but suffers low income, poverty and widespread unemployment, he challenged that the new party is going to have to decide who is most important, the mass of the Canadian people, their lives and welfare, or the handful of people who control industry.

We will have to develop our industry if we are going to control the destiny of our nation and adopt a policy of resources control and ownership by our people. While playing up the fatuous policy expanded in the provisional program of building a national investment fund to buy out U.S. capital interests, Argue made many references to the ending of exploitation and the development of Canada in the interests of Canadians but was vague on a policy of public ownership.



control and ownership by our people. While playing up the fatuous policy expanded in the provisional program of building a national investment fund to buy out U.S. capital interests, Argue made many references to the ending of exploitation and the development of Canada in the interests of Canadians but was vague on a policy of public ownership.

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOUNDED
JOIN IT, BUILD IT, TO WIN POWER

The Workers Vanguard

Mid-August 1961 Vol. 6, No. (6) (66) 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

Fails to Adopt Anti-War Policy After Stormy Two Day Debate

CCF M.P. Herridge challenged the delegates to commit the New Democratic Party to a clear and unmistakable anti-war policy by declaring in its program that it would fight to, and when elected to office actually withdraw Canada from the North Atlantic Treaty military alliance. "This is an opportunity for the NDP to give leadership—we can electrify our nation" if we take this stand, he told the tense assembly.

And tense it was. Everyone had been waiting for this debate and its outcome. At its conclusion a motion of referral back to the program committee was defeated by a substantial majority. The anti NATO policy adopted by last year's CCF convention was reversed. The NDP was committed to support of NATO—reform to be sure, and even withdrawal should NATO forces become nuclear armed—but support of NATO nonetheless.

This has been a source of bitter disappointment, not only for those who fought it out in the debate and those who have committed themselves to support of the new labor party, but for tens of thousands across the country, many of them activists in the nuclear disarmament movement, who have expressed sympathy for the party and intention of going all-out in its support in anticipation that it would sharply differentiate itself from both the Liberals and Tories on this crucial question.

Many agree with the words of the youthful Toronto delegate Tony Moxon who declared that as an adherent to the NATO military alliance Canada has the blood of the Angolese, the Congolese, and the Cubans, on its hands and that it is time to wash our hands of this blood, time to wash our hands of NATO.

As Professor Mardiros of Edmonton put it, the students, the working class youth, the rank and file of the party, are for Canadian withdrawal from NATO. Of the 24 resolutions submitted on this question, he pointed out, 22 were for immediate withdrawal. This is the most important question confronting the convention, if we don't give a lead, he pleaded, all the hopes and plans being drawn up at this convention will be blasted—this is not a question to be compromised—you can't compromise on the fate of humanity.

The vote was decisive. But it did not for one moment or in anyway accurately reflect the real opinion of the delegates. No one in attendance at the debate would claim that the formal position of the NDP on NATO is an accurate assessment of the collective opinion of the delegates, not to speak of the party ranks.

In order to impise their position on the delegates, the top brass of the CCF and the CLC pulled off every trick in the

(see CCF-CLC BRASS page 2)

Big Union Representation At Stirring Convention

Nothing is ever going to be the same again in this country with the founding of the New Democratic Party in Ottawa this month. For those who produce all the wealth but who have no real control over any aspect of their lives, the working people, now have for the first time a party of their own which can, and which the 1,801 voting delegates who assembled in Lansdowne Hall are determined will, form workers' and farmers' governments in Ottawa and in the provinces.

It was an inspiring convention, with great moments of controversy, conflict, unity and solidarity. The division that the debates and the votes on the major questions before the assembly revealed was an unmistakable and persistant one between the platform and the floor, between the CCF-trade union bureaucracy and the CCF and trade union rank and filer. Thus democracy was an overriding issue at this convention.

NDP leader Douglas

Despite vigorous opposition of the ranks, which on many occasions resulted in touch and go decisions, the CCF-trade union bureaucracy prevailed. Thus the party got underway with a program that is far from adequate to the great tasks looming before it. Instead of advancing a program that will unite the workers and working farmers of this country in a serious struggle in defense of and for the extension of their interests, the NDP has been saddled with a peaceful co-

new party would never get underway but would founder on the conflict between labor and farmer, East and West, between CCFer and trade unionist. But not only did the party get underway with a full head of steam, these didn't in anyway prove to be the divisions.

The big controversy was on what kind of policy the new party should have—whether it should have a firm and consistant anti-capitalist program or whether it should have a reformist, make capitalism work, policy.

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Delegates Clear Way to Win Quebec for NDP

One of the most inspiring aspects of the New Democratic Party convention was the sight of some 200 delegates from Quebec and their stimulating contributions to all the key discussions in their own language. The convention was completely bi-lingual with simultaneous translations in both French and English.

But even more inspiring was the promise that this convention gave the Quebec delegates that the party can really become the organizer and leader of the Quebec workers and farmers.

The delegates acted with a vengeance to overcome the sorry influence of that combination of national chauvinism, Anglophilism and ignorance that came to dominate the CCF and gradually deprive it of any influence of importance among Quebec's five million population.

This convention recognized the strong national consciviousness of the people of Quebec, their right to self-determination, and drastically revamped its constitution and program to clearly convey the federal and bi-cultural character of Canada.

The challenge was placed before the convention by Michel Chartrand, leader of the Quebec Partie Social Democratique, and accepted by the constitution committee. Everywhere that the word "national" appeared in the draft constitution it has been struck out and the term "federal" substituted where possible.

Research director of the Canadian Labor Congress, Dr. Eugene Forsey, violently attacked the move as idiocy, as childish, charging that the delegates were acting like mice instead of men. Committee Chairman Brockelbank replied that the word "nation" or "national" in the West meant "our country, Canada". But in French Canada it carried another meaning—that of a people of common ancestry and common culture—"in that part of Canada it is confusing and maybe even offensive", and he could see no reason why it had to be used. Quebec UPWA delegate Romeo Mathieu told the delegates that the term national suggests assimilation, smothering of French Canadians, and with only a sprinkling of opposition they endorsed the change.

Extensive revisions and amplifications along this line were also made to the program—that section titled Co-operative Federalism. They spell out a guarantee of the national identity of French Canadians and the development of their culture.

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(see STRUGGLE page 2

CCF-CLC BRASS EMPLOY EVERY TRICK TO CURB AND DEFEAT ANTI-NATO FORCES

(from page one)

book. They injected themselves into the debate in such a way as to make the vote on this question a vote of confidence, even threatening to split the convention wide open, when everyone was concerned with seeing the party get off to a united, flying start. They blackmailed the delegates.

URGED SUPPORT OF OAS

This section of the draft program had been trickily worded. It didn't give blanket support but called for a re-appraisal of NATO. It conceded that the economic aid clauses had not been implemented and declared that Canada could not remain in if NATO-command forces were nuclear armed. George Fawcett writing in the Saskatchewan Commonwealth suggested that this re-appraisal was a "subterfuge to remain in NATO." But it also made the astounding demand which even the Liberals and Tories have shied away from, that Canada should join "without delay" that tool of US imperialist policy, the Organization of American States.

The redraft presented by the convention program committee merely rephrased the part on NATO but conceded to the opposition to OAS membership by dropping it and replacing that section with a few words about broadening relationships with the nations of Latin America.

The top brass cynically manipulated the agenda so that the NATO debate was cut in two, with the leadership contest sliced in between. The outcome of this contest was never in doubt—the top brass had been boasting from opening day that the odds were four to one in Douglas' favor. Both contestants had taken a clear stand on NATO. The defeat of Argue, although many anti-NATO delegates supported Douglas, could be expected to weaken the anti-NATO forces. Douglas' victory would in itself be a victory for the pro-NATO forces and could be put to even more stringent use, as we shall see.

GAITSKELL INTERVENES

In the meantime British Labor Party Leader Hugh Gaitskell, slated to speak following the debate, intervened in the midst of the discussion through an interview with the press which received wide publicity. The delegates read under a full page headline in the widely circulated Globe and Mail that Mr. Gaitskell "would deeply regret a Canadian decision to withdraw from NATO and had no doubt his opinion would be shared by the Canadian counterpart of his own party as well."

In all previous debates the top brass limited its intervention and in some cases studiously abstained. The NATO debate saw the vigorous intervention of all their forces right from the kickoff. Previous discussion commenced with a report from the program committee. Then the discussion was turned over to the floor with anyone earnestly seeking to do so having a good chance, as good as anyone else, of getting a hearing from one of the 5 microphones strategically placed on the vast floor. But on this occasion it was decided not to leave matters to such chance.

Prior to this point on the agenda an informal gathering of anti-NATO delegates were informed through delegate Shapiro of Regina that discussion on this section of the program would commence from the front platform with three speakers from each side. The gathering was to pick out three. When this question came up the chairman announced the procedure to the assembly and the debate was launched. Lorne Ingle, former national secretary of the CCF opened up for the pro-NATO side, buttressed by Andrew Brewin, national treasurer of the CCF, and Max Swerdlow, Canadian Labor Congress director of education.

The anti-NATO spokesmen approached the question from widely different viewpoints with one Michael Oliver, who appeared to be cast as an anti-NATO spokesman, after a series of declamations that he too had opposed NATO, ending up with a declaration of support.

BY-PASSES MIKES

Then the debate was turned over the floor. Here some youth delegates made effective anti-NATO contributions, with Fur-worker leader Max Federman, contrary to even the pro-NATO resolution he supported, urging an agressive policy of nuclear armament of Canadian armed forces.

BLACKMAIL DELEGATES

When the delegates filed into the hall on Friday morning they were greeted by the spectacle of lengthy line-ups of would-be speakers stretching out from all five mikes. Some of the delegates said that they had been there 1½ hours prior to the opening of the session. It was apparent that the majority were opponents of NATO.

Suddenly a bit of a scuffle broke out on the floor between the sergeant-at-arms and West Coast delegate William Hartley. On several occasions the chairman affirmed that no literature could be distributed to the delegates' tables without permission of the convention committee. Mr Hartley was protesting the appearance on the delegates' tables of a leaflet urging the convention "not to let Mr. Douglas down" by voting against NATO. Presented as the opinion of the youth it was sponsored by NP MP Walter Pitman, the national CCF youth president, the acting national secretary and others, one of whom later repudiated his signature as having been placed on it without his consent.

Previous procedure required chairman Grube to recognize the speakers at the mikes but he opened with the proposition that the debate proceed and conclude with 5 speakers from each side. Having gained acceptance of this, over the protests of many delegates, he decreed with a flourish that the 10 would all speak from the microphone at his side, on the platform. With one stride the party's top brass took their place at the mike, by-passing the speakers lined up on the floor who in a mad scramble tried to overcome the 100 to 150 yards that separate some of them from the podium.

After the flurry subsided the line-up of the pro-NATO spoke-

→P.3

CCF-CLC BRASS EMPLOY EVERY TRICK

p3

men appeared as follows; Kalman Kaplansky, CLC international affairs director, L. Roberg of the Montreal Labor Council, M. J. Coldwell, former leader of the CCF, David Lewis, CCF national president, and the newly elected New Democratic Party leader himself, T. C. Douglas.

DOUGLAS THREATENS

Their mere presence, their direct intervention, the top brass' pulling its rank, constituted blackmail of the delegates. They soon went further—to insinuate the words of political blackmail. Douglas' appearance was in effect a demand for a new mandate. By his presence he placed his office, which he had won at a high pitch of enthusiasm only hours before, once again before the delegates. If there could be any doubt on this score he made this crystal clear in the process of his address.

Kaplansky made a "hard cop" speech which cast an aura of reasonableness around Coldwell's and Douglas' contribution. He demanded that Canada should acquire weapons of her own in violation of the official position of the CLC.

In contrast to Kaplansky the grand old man of the CCF, M. J. Coldwell, cast himself in the role of "soft cop." He presented the resolution as a reasonable compromise between the two extremes. He appealed to the feelings of solidarity and loyalty to fellow parties of the Second International whose leaders are cajoling the ranks behind the policies of the US State Department.

With legalistic skill Lewis presented this as a question upon which the entire unity of the party was posed, which of course called for retreat, not on their part, but on the part of the anti-NATO forces. He invoked Augue's congratulatory pledge of support speech to Douglas as being compromised by the opponents of NATO and made the pitch for Douglas' intervention by urging the delegates to get solidy behind the new leader.

Douglas opened by stating that he was making no apology for intervening in the debate—and made it clear that he had as leader no intention of accepting a policy that was anti-NATO. After all he said, it is I who will have to explain the policy. Being for or against NATO is not a policy in itself—the policy we are for is world collective security. Can we use NATO, he asked, to contribute eventually this way? When a chorus of No met his query, he snapped back: "Booing is the last resort of persons bankrupt of ideas." I say we haven't tried, and then he advanced the incredibly puerile idea that a NDP government would make every effort to convince the US State Department, Tory MacMillan and Bonapartist DeGaulle, who built up the NATO military alliance as an extra-UN force, to place it under the UN collective security system.

There was no debate of ideas. All the top brass grandly ignored the contributions of Quebec leader Chartrand who exposed the NATO alliance as an instrument of imperialist policy designed to uphold capitalism and maintain colonialism, the remarks of Pulp and Sulphite leader Orville Braaten, CCF M.P. Herridge, and Professor Mardiros, youthful Jack Shapiro of Regina who exposed the double talk of the resolution by pointing out that the nuclear arms club is already spreading and that in actuality NATO is already nuclear armed.

The top brass of the New Democratic Party were not counting on ideas but on their prestige, their scarcely veiled threats, on the honest and intense aspirations of the delegates to see the new labor party get underway united and dynamically.

The defeat of the anti-war forces was a costly one. Formally, on this crucial question, the New Democratic Party has a position that in no way demarks it from the capitalist Liberal Party.

The victory of the leadership over the rank and file cost it much also—much of the good will, the respect that it has had heretofore in the delegates' eyes. Many have a clearer understanding now of the conservative nature of this leadership and how it cripples the movement, and the need to organize to fight to win a new leadership for the party.

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THE WORKERS' VANGUARD #66

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The Workers Vanguard #67 October 1961

Shelter Drama Falls on its Face as Pickets Protest Nuclear Arms

BY R. PAUL

The experimental week spent by a young couple in a fall-out shelter. erected on the CBC lot on Jarvis Street, Toronto, blew up in the face of its sponsors. Not only was there an effective anti-nuclear arms picket line on hand to counteract the official show on Sept. 17, but when Mr. and Mrs. John McCallum emerged they just didn't play the game.

The whole to-do is part of Diefenbaker's stepped up program, taking advantage of the Berlin crisis and the Soviet tests, to convince the Canadian people that we can survive an H Bomb war and thereby permit his government to go full steam ahead with the nuclear armament of Canadian forces.

But when a young woman carrying the Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards No Nuclear Arms for Canada petition approached the McCallums they replied "Yes, we'll sign your petition against nuclear arms for Canada. I have had a lot of time to think in the last week and it is necessary to do anything we can to prevent a third world war," continued Mrs McCallum.

This response is a smashing victory for the 100-odd picketers who, as the family of four emerged from the shelter, demonstrated against the farce of civil defence carrying placards emblazoned and shouting: "There's No Defense", "No Nuclear Arms on Canadian Soil." "Break Canada From NATO."

Taking part in this spirited and impressive demonstration were representives from the CUCND (Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), the Voice of Women, the Toronto Committee for Disarmament, and supporters and members of the New Democratic Party, some of them members of the League for Socialist Action.

When the family emerged from the shelter sharp at 5 p.m. and into the view of the TV cameras for the program "News Magazine" they were greeted with loud boos and shouts of "There's No Defense." The TV cameras picked the demonstrators up and carried them nicely into thousands of homes across Canada.

Mayor Nathan Phillips, who was jeered by one picketer as 'the man who crosses the Royal York Hotel picket line" was at hand to greet the couple as they emerged. CBC host for the program "News Magazine" came in for sharp criticism from Toronto Star writer, Jeremy Brown, who called "arrogant nonsense" DePoe's statement that the experiment was carried out under "simulated, post-attack conditions."

"McCallum knew to the minute when he was getting out," he continued. "He knew the only poison in the air would be from exhaust fumes and not from radio-active fallout. He, his wife and his children knew normal life could be resumed shortly afterward."

The Toronto demonstration was one of many which took place across the world over that weekend. The most significant was London's Trafalgar Square 10,000 strong civil disobedience campaign against nuclear arms called by Bertrand Russell.

Bertrand Russell, who at the time of the demonstration was serving seven days in jail for anti-nuclear activities, issued a statement from his cell calling on scientists to refuse to work on nuclear arms and workers to blacklist all jobs connected with them.

TOP Br. PLAYWRIGHT HITS BERLIN POLICY

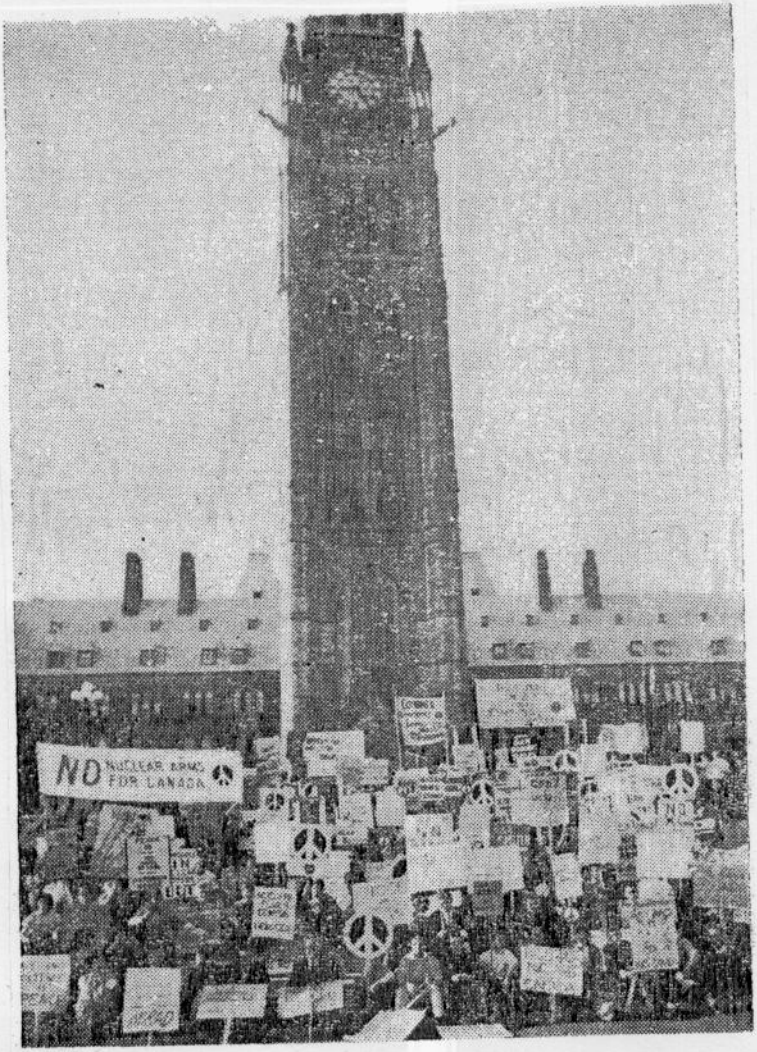
A searing denunciation of Britain for following U.S. policy to the brink of nuclear war over Berlin by John Osborne, one of England's leading writers, has drawn world-wide attention.

Osborne is best known to Canadians for the movies of his plays Look Back in Anger and The Entertainer.

In an open letter published in the left-wing labor newspaper Tribune, Osborne wrote: "This is a letter of hate. It is for you, my countrymen. I mean those men of my country who have defiled it. The men with manic fingers leading the sightless, feeble, betrayed body of my country to its death. You are its murderers and there's little left in my own brain but the thoughts of murder for you."

Osborne wrote that his favorite fantasy was to imagine himself watching members of Parliament frying in their "democratically elected hot seats." He said that in his heart there was murder and a knife for Prime Minister Harold MacMillan and for right-wing Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell—"you particularly." Gaitskell is especially hated by the anti-war forces in England for betraying the Labor Party's position against nuclear disarmament.

The Workers Vanguard #68 October 1961



Some 800 students from all the major Ontario and Quebec universities held a 73 hour vigil in front of the Ottawa parliament buildings. They commemorated the 73,000 persons killed by the US H-bombing of Hiroshima and protested against nuclear tests and the nuclear armament of Canadian forces.

1962 1963?

UNITE AGAINST THE BOMB!

ACT NOW TO STOP NUCLEAR WAR!

Support our demands --

1 - NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR CANADA
2 - RENEGOTIATE CANADA'S ROLE IN NORAD-NATO
3 - CANADA'S FIRST COMMITMENT IS PEACE NOT NUCLEAR ARMS
4 - LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON NUCLEAR ARMS!

DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY JAN 20
Assembly Point - Rosehill Reservoir Park 2:30pm

ARRIVING UNITARIAN CHURCH 3:00 PM
AT 175 ST CLAIR WEST

Rabbi A Feinberg (RABBI EM. HOLY BLOSSOM)
Rev John Morgan (UNITARIAN)
Rev Glenn Firth (BATHURST ST UNITED)
to speak

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COVER

1962

ACT NOW TO STOP NUCLEAR WAR — UNITE AGAINST THE BOMB

The Canadian government is being subjected to increasing pressure to accept nuclear weapons. In the NATO conference attempts were made to "shame" Canada into accepting atomic warheads for the Bomarcs, Honest Johns, and Voodoos in the hands of Canadian forces. Now, the press reports, the U.S. government is putting economic pressure on Canada, threatening to cut American defense contracts in Canada if nuclear weapons are not accepted.

Canada is at a turning point. Either the government refuses to accept nuclear weapons and reassesses its relationship with the military alliances in which it has membership, or it succumbs to the nuclear lunacy of our age. We must raise the demand: NO MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH NUCLEAR ARMED NATIONS.

The Minister of Defense, Douglas Harkness, has from the beginning urged the government to accept nuclear weapons. He remains a vocal advocate of nuclear arms. The Minister of External Affairs, Howard Green, who, before the pressure to accept these arms increased, was a vigorous opponent of nuclear arms, now hedges. Only two weeks ago, he refused to give assurances that Canada would resist the acquisition of nuclear weapons, when questioned by T.C. Douglas in the House of Commons. The official opposition, the Liberal Party, has also capitulated to this pressure. Charles M. Drury, Liberal Defense critic, now says Canada should accept nuclear weapons under NATO control. Liberal, Paul Hellyer says that Canada should have signed a bi-lateral agreement on Nov. 1st with the U.S. which would permit the supply of atomic weapons to Canadian forces "as required."

It is apparent that if the government and the Liberals are preparing to bring nuclear weapons into Canada, the people have not been consulted. In the June election both parties said that there was no reason "at this time" for Canada to accept nuclear weapons. There is no more reason today!

From any point of view, Canada does not need nuclear weapons. Professor P.M.S. Blackett, writing in the Scientific American, pointed out that Soviet heavy bomber strength is only 80% of what U.S. military intelligence estimated it to be in 1959, and that Soviet operational ICBM strength is merely 3.5% of what it was thought to be then. He further pointed out that U.S. military strength is based on "overkill" capacity and is already approximately 30 times what is required to effectively destroy all major Soviet cities.

In spite of this already horrifying amount of nuclear weapons in the hands of Western forces, the Canadian government has stockpiled $700,000,000 worth of military equipment in Canada which is militarily of no value in the absence of nuclear weapons. We must increase the cry, NO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CANADA!

A growing number of Canadians do believe that the lunacy of the arms race can be stopped, and that peaceful settlements of world conflicts can be reached. In February, 1962, 56% of the population thought peaceful settlements could be reached. Today, 66% of the population and 72% of those between 21 and 29 believe that the world's problems can be settled peacefully. This cannot be done by further spreading nuclear weapons!

The Government and the Liberals have shown themselves unwilling to meet the most pressing problem of our day. The people must be allowed to decide which is the policy of peace--disengagement or arms build-up.

DEMAND A REFERENDUM ON NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADA! — LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

(Found in 1962)

YCND CSND

Membership Rally
Sunday April 28

1. ELECTION OF OFFICERS

2. PROPOSED N.A.T.O. PROTEST AT OTTAWA

2 PM

10 Lansdowne Ave

AT QUEEN W.

For Information: Peter Horbatiuk
RU 3-4344

Declaration to the Canadian Anti-war Movement by the Y.C.N.D.

(Youth & Schools Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament)
(Typed document found in April 1962 RD archives)

We of the youth section of the anti-war movement feel that a critical evaluation of our role during the election campaign is necessary since it is apparent that the leading, adult bodies of this movement did not respond adequately and since in any case the issue of nuclear arms was successfully removed as the main issue in favour of a demand for stable government by the political parties and the press. This critical evaluation includes the following points:

1) As the adult body of the anti-war movement, the CCND-TCND, was totally incapable of making itself a factor or of even exercising its strength to date during the election campaign. It failed to mobilize its forces effectively and to intervene in the election in any significant way.

2) Its organ *Sanity* violated policy by offering tacit support of certain political parties during the election instead of merely raising the issue of nuclear arms for debate, and of "harassing the Liberals and Tories" as was advised by the recent conference of the CCND. For this reason, the YCND rejected the use of *Sanity* broadsheet(s) for distribution and wrote its own material.

3) The adult bodies of the anti-war movement sabotaged the poster-parade protest at the Liberal rally at the (Toronto Maple Leaf) Gardens on April 5th, claiming the press would blame us for any violence which might occur. Apart from disregarding totally the decision of the YCND to hold such a protest and the wishes of its members to peacefully protest the policies of the Liberals, this act of sabotage of the protest was a cowardly act of running before threats of the press and before slanders like that of David Lewis's that some groups were “planning to disrupt" the Liberal rally. The compromise was further betrayed when the leaders of the adult sections failed to appear as they had promised as part of the compromise.

4) This cynical disregard for the wishes of the youth in the movement and this willingness to yield its own basic democratic rights to political protest under the mere threat of newspaper editorials stands in marked contrast to the stated aims of the entire movement to fight against the destruction of the human race by a nuclear war, by the very nuclear weapons which the Liberal Party urges Canada immediately equip itself with.

5) Because of the failure of the adult section of the peace movement to uphold its fundamental right to protest and because of its inability to carry out elementary minimum actions during this all-important election campaign (such as a public meeting) the YCND feels it must further clarity its relationship in this movement by stating that hitherto it shall consider itself an autonomous group within the movement which shall not submit to panic, or to the dictates of pressures from unknown sources, but shall stand by the decisions of its membership and elected officers, and that any changes in decisions shall be without interference or threats from associated groups. The experiences of April 5th clearly reveals that our concept of "liaison" differs from that of the adult bodies - it is a concept of respect for the decisions of the rank-and-file of

each of the sections, a concept of cooperation between sections not on a basis of compromises but of responsibility to the membership of that section. In no other way can the anti-war movement be taken forward, educated, and not disoriented and frustrated.

6) At the root of our organizational disagreement with the adult sections over "liaison" is a programmatic disagreement. Whereas the Canadian Peace Research Institute, to which the CCND is tied, insists that the question of war and maintenance of peace be delegated to unnamed "experts" with large amounts of money and, meanwhile, patient refraining from engaging in any militant actions against war. In contrast to this, the YCND regards the words of one "expert," Clausewitz, who said that "war is an extension of politics by other means as being more realistic, that war can be prevented by political action, that is, by winning the majority of Canadians over to a position which will prevent war from occurring. What these politics are will be decided by a contention of ideas and through our future experience, but we flatly deny that those CAPRI "experts," removed from social reality as parasites on our movement can answer to questions confronting the Canadian anti-war movement, or take our movement forward.

The YCND representing the movement of high school students and working youth in the Toronto area challenges the adult section to provide leadership.

It is apparent now that the question of nuclear arms for the Bomarcs is only a part of a plan to involve Canada in a nuclear-armed NATO. And it is virtually assured that Canada now will become an ally in an "offensive and defensive nuclear-equipped" NATO. This will happen by May unless the mass of Canadians who were either opposed outright to the acceptance of nuclear arms in Canada or have thought seriously about it in the last two months can be aroused, can be led forward and prevent this disastrous course of action.

Here is a concrete possibility for the anti-war movement in Canada. Let us ally ourselves with the political forces consistently opposed to equipping Canada and/or NATO with nuclear arms or nuclear-equipped armament – particularly with the labor movement. There are powerful forces behind us. We in the youth urge that we not fail this sentiment in favour of our cause. We have a duty.

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#71 January 1962

Dief Screens US Role in Vietnam Civil War

By C. COTTON

Although the people of North America know almost nothing about it, U.S. troops are now committed to action in the front lines and are suffering casualties in the civil war raging in South Vietnam.

Under President Kennedy's directives, and without prior constitutionally required agreement from Congress, some 2,200 U.S. soldiers are accompanying South Vietnamese troops to the front line, not only to give technical aid as claimed, but with orders to shoot if endangered while at the front. At least four casualties are already listed, including one killed and one captured.

By intervening in the civil war in South Vietnam, a popular peasant revolution against a dictatorial and puppet, comprador regime, Kennedy threatens to make South Vietnam another Korea, or even a war that could flare into nuclear holocaust.

Although either outcome will directly involve the Canadian people, the Diefenbaker government is assisting Kennedy by concealing the facts about this intervention. Reports to the Canadian government by its delegates on the International Control Commission are being suppressed and kept from the public.

The ICC, composed of delegates from Canada, India, and Poland, was formed to uphold the 1954 Geneva Treaty under which the big powers blocked the civil war and carved South Vietnam out of Indo-China. Its primary purpose was to see that no foreign troops intervened in the area.

But now American imperialism finds it must provide infantry to maintain the puppet colonial dictatorship in South Vietnam. So precarious is the position of dictator Ngo Hinh Diem that U.S. imperialism must now add troops to the list of aid already given his regime. Enormous supplies of military equipment plus 2½ billion dollars granted to uphold the dictatorship are not enough.

On-the-spot **Globe and Mail** reporter Fred Nossal, who sees the battle through pro-Western tinted glasses, nevertheless reveals the true nature of the struggle in a recent series of articles. He comments that "The Diem oligarchy has silenced, for the time being, most of his opponents. Many are in jail. Some have left Saigon, complaining that if South Vietnam is the free world they want no part of it . . . Today, many of the government's former political critics have become bitter enemies who live with the Viet Cong in the jungles of South Vietnam . . . plotting President Diem's overthrow."

Although Nossal would have us believe this is a war "to prevent communist invasion from North Vietnam," he inadvertently discloses its true character to be one of terror by the Diem regime to subdue a rebellious peasantry.

He describes with disgust the torture of a man government troops had shot, though they knew him to be a simple peasant. "One of them (the soldiers) got a strong stick, placed it across his neck, and stepped on it with both feet. When the stick broke, a tall young man in the black uniform of South Vietnam's self-defence forces, stood on the peasant's wound. The dying man's chest heaved."

"If South Vietnamese soldiers do this kind of thing in front of a foreign newspaperman taking pictures, what do they do when there are no strangers around?" Nossal shudders.

Facts provided in Nossal's reports prove that the Viet Cong guerrilla army's real strength lies in the mass support it is given by the nation's million peasants. "Through constant recruitment of village guerillas and improving training of the irregular troops, the Viet Cong has built a huge armed force in the south whose real strength is impossible to estimate," writes Nossal. "Although the Vietnamese capital remains firmly in the hands of the Diem regime (as do all the bigger towns and cities), it is encircled by regions which are held by (what Nossal considers to be—Ed.) Communists."

A general "is sufficiently honest to admit that of 115 villages in Hien Hao province, 20 genuinely support the Viet Cong because of their dislike for the Saigon Government."

Another officer compares the South Vietnamese army to a blind man trying to stamp out a growing plague of ants in his room. Guns given to the peasants to defend themselves are passed on to the Viet Cong. The army finds it next to impossible to get hold of peasants who will give information about the Viet Cong.

"To the peasants who have in past years been abused and ill treated both by town-based officials and by ruffians who call themselves soldiers . . . the Viet Cong are, in fact, quite popular because their campaign of murder is directed not against the poor peasants but against the police, officials, businessmen and landlords," all of whom have long helped in the exploitation and subjection of the peasants.

Canadian workers, not aloof from, but deeply affected by this development, a development which could easily culminate in another Korea or in atomic holocaust, have every interest in seeing this revolution emerge victorious and in demanding the removal of intervening U.S. troops. It is the duty of the New Democratic Party members of parliament to wring the truth about the nature of the struggle in South Vietnam from the Tories and make public their findings. They must do everything in their power to prevent further Tory assistance to U.S. imperialism and to prevent further Canadian involvement in this explosive situation.

The Wo
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Vol. 7 (No. 3) (75) June, 1962

US Test Arguments Uncovered as Fraud

By JOHN BANNON

While nuclear test ban talks drag on at Geneva, fallout continues to spread around the globe from the American tests in the Pacific, adding to the contamination of the air we breathe. This criminal act by the Kennedy government follows outright rejection of Soviet test moratorium proposals and constitutes blackmail of the current talks. In recent weeks the Pentagon position on the tests has been exposed by two highly qualified Americans and by the results of underground blasts conducted by the government itself, as a tissue of lies and hypocrisy.

In the face of international outcries against its tests the State department has advanced a garbled and lying "justification." First, that the USSR has made a test ban accord impossible by refusing to accept "inspection controls." American negotiators, in insisting on inclusion of this point, claim that underground tests are undetectable, or, at any rate, extremely difficult to detect. They thus claim that without inspection — which the Russians have labelled espionage — a ban would be meaningless. From that position they fall back on the line that a new test series is necessary from a military point of view, to bring US information "up to date" following the Russian tests.

FULL OF HOLES

The argument that underground blasts are undetectable is "as full of holes as Swiss cheese," exploded L. Donald Leet, Harvard University geologist, and seismograph station director there since 1931. In a recent interview in Harvard Crimson, the undergraduate newspaper, he added, "Three months ago, I wasn't aware that it (US 'data' presented at the talks) would be carried over and used at Geneva. How the hell can a thing like this go on? When I found out, I was mad enough to do some digging."

After digging, Leet discovered that the Berkner panel findings, used by US representatives in 1959 to block negotiations when a test ban agreement was near, "had data so insufficient that . . . the Russians took one look at the stuff and laughed. And they were right. Any good seismologist would have laughed."

After investigating the composition of the panel Leet concluded that, "The forces that I now realize are operating here are financially powerful . . . $24,000,000 worth of contracts were awarded to siesmology in one year, but not to seismologists." Both the US Defense Department and the Disarmament and Control Agency brushed off attempts by Leet to protest the situation.

UNCHALLENGEABLE FACTS

Recent data obtained from an actual test case confirms Leet's observations to the hilt. As reported in the Globe and Mail of May 9, 1962, an underground test, conducted in Carlsbad, New Mexico, on December 10, 1961, at a depth of 1,184 feet was recorded not only at points in the US, Canada and Sweden, but at Nurmijarmi, Finland, some 5,200 miles away. "Instead of being reduced by a factor of 2.5 . . . the seismic impact of Gnome, as the project was called, was increased by the same factor or slightly more." (our emphasis). So much for the "theories" of State department scientists! The very conditions under which the test took place were claimed to be those which would render the blast undetectable.

As for the claim that the tests

(See Page 2—U.S. EXPOSED)

US Exposed

(Continued from Page 1)

are militarily valuable, Professor Hans A. Bethe of Cornell University stated in a noted speech last January that, "We already know so much about atomic weapons that there is little more to learn. We have weapons of all sizes, for all reasonable military purposes." This, please note, Mr. Kennedy, is an American scientist, not one of those devious reds!

It does not, therefore require a startling degree of brilliance to see why Kennedy permits his power-drunk Pentagon warlords to proceed on course. It's a campaign of intimidation and atomic blackmail that US imperialism seeks to wage in a desperate and futile attempt to roll back the tide of history which has brought socialist revolution within 90 miles of capitalism's heartland. It won't work. It didn't stop the heroic Cubans, and it won't stop Latin American workers and peasants—or the peoples anywhere else.

The Workers' Vanguard #78 Sept. 1962

ECM, A-BOMB ISSUES IN BLP

By Ross Dowson

The nuclear arms issue is by no means dead in Britain, as the list of resolutions submitted by constituency labor parties and trade unions for the big annual Labour Party conference testifies.

The recently announced agreement of the British Conservatives to allow the United States to fly U2s from bases in England, and the repercussions from its abandonment of the Blue Water missile, will in all probability heighten interest in the 31 resolutions presented to this year's Labour conference in Brighton from October 1 to 5.

Some 22 of the resolutions are unilateralist, with 13 of these urging British withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Eight resolutions specifically condemn the Parliamentary Labour Party and the National Executive for their failure to implement last year's conference decision against all nuclear tests. The Supervisory Staffs, Executive and Technicians' resolution goes to great pains to close up the loopholes through which the top brass sought to cover up its apologies for the U.S. tests. The Norfolk Federation "deplores . . . the failure of the Party nationally to organize realistic and effective protest."

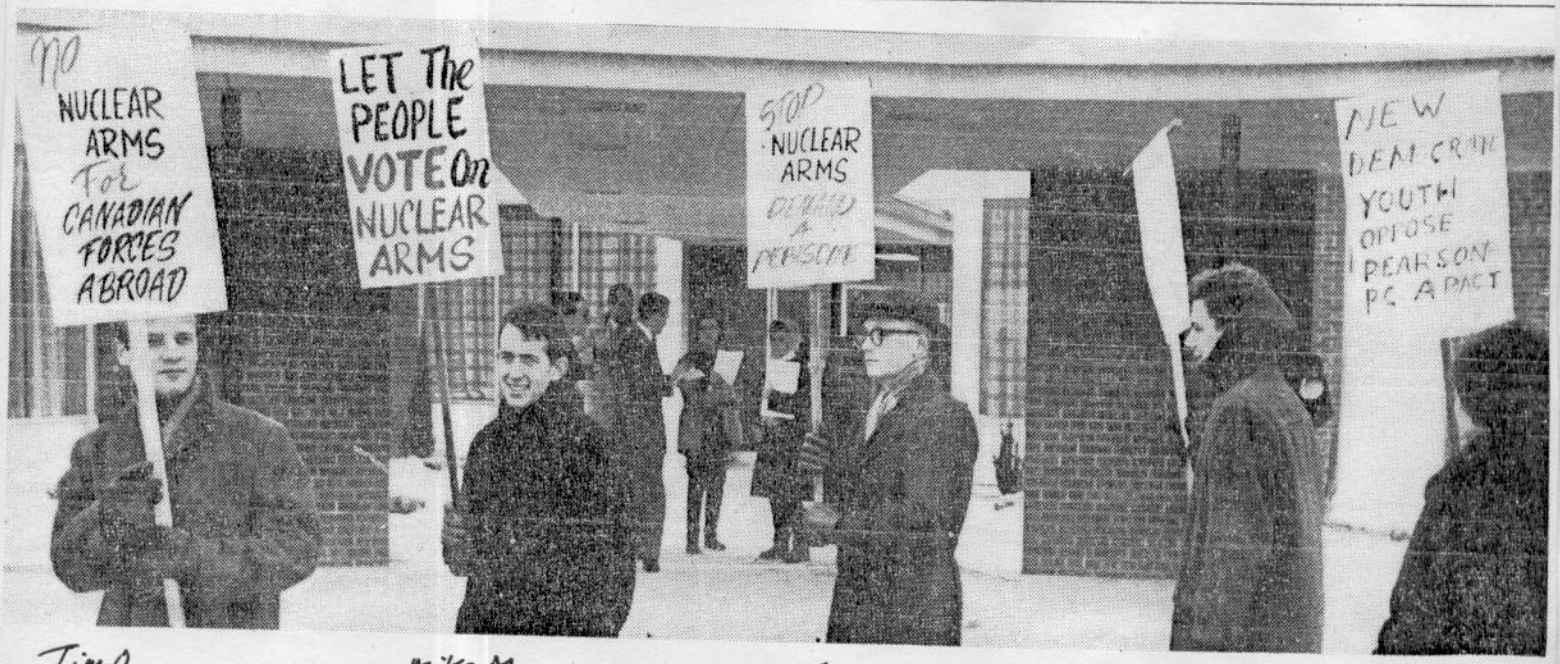
Of the 51 resolutions on the Common Market 39 forthrightly oppose British membership. The Deptford resolution condemns it as "merely an economic and political parallel of NATO, aimed at stabilizing the regime of private enterprise in Western Europe." The Swansea East CLP poses an alternative. It urges the Labor Party leadership and the Trade Union Congress to "convene a conference of European working class organizations . . . asking specific trade unions to prepare plans for the state ownership and internationalization of their industries on the basis of workers' management and control as concrete steps towards a Socialist United States of Europe." Lord Attlee's recent statement will certainly strengthen the opposition to Gaitskell's policy of conceding on the conditions that the party previously laid down.

Hand in hand with the leaderships' failure to uphold last year's adopted resolutions has been its assault on opposition currents in the movement. Five resolutions attack the NEC for its blackballing of several left wing parliamentary candidates. Another six score the leadership for its autocratic attitude to the party's youth movement — The Young Socialists. Another three attack the leadership for its policy of proscriptions.

A preview of the representative Labour Party Conference will be seen at the Sept. 3-7 Blackpool conference of the Trade Union Congress which we will be covering for the next issue of the **Vanguard**.

Pearson Speech On

Canada's A-Arms Policy


NO NUCLEAR ARMS For CANADIAN FORCES ABROAD
LET The PEOPLE VOTE On NUCLEAR ARMS
STOP NUCLEAR ARMS
NEW DEM CRAT YOUTH OPPOSE PEARSON PC A PACT
Jim O.
Mike M.
John W.
John R.

—Star Photo

PICKETS FOR PEARSON

Ban-the-bomb demonstrators picket Agincourt motor hotel where Liberal Leader Lester Pearson told the York-Scarboro Liberal Association Saturday that Canada should accept nuclear warheads for weapons which cannot be used effectively without them. In a major policy address, Mr. Pearson said the government should end "evasion of responsibility" on warheads.

democracy, it ought not to be the normal situation.

Today, defence policy is based more on the interdependence, than the independence of nations. No country can defend itself alone. The only security, especially for a country like [illegible] lies in collective [illegible] defensive [illegible]

the commitments of the nation; that they would not automatically disappear with a change of government.

Demand Continuity

These are the facts of life in the modern world. They demand as much continuity, and as much bipartisanship, as is possible in defence poli[illegible]

terms. This has been, unfortunately, the case in Ottawa in recent [illegible]

government do in these circumstances?

Evasion Should Be Ended

It should end at once its evasion of responsibility, by discharging the commitments it has already accepted for Canada. It can only do this by accepting nuclear warheads, for those defensive tactical weapons which cannot effectively be used without them.

An agreement with the United States for this pur[illegible]

here — especially [illegible] con-

tection of our ter[illegible] through suitable m[illegible]ment for passive, as well a[illegible] role defence. Defence r[illegible]vision must also be relate[illegible]anged international com[illegible]one of for collective securi[illegible] The must be determine[illegible]arlia- circumstances of t[illegible]v and of yesterday.

Protection effe[illegible] against dangers th[illegible] appeared is mere[illegible] of money and res[illegible]

(4) Canad[illegible]

be carried out by Canadian forces if nuclear warheads are used.

Since then, they have refused to make the decision; either to alter the commitments or accept the warheads.

Doubt Removed

[illegible]

Found in 1963

COULDNT CARE LESS about NUCLEAR ARMS?

HEAR PETER HORBATIUK

speaking on

NUCLEAR ARMS and FREEDOM of SPEECH

Peter is facing charges for addressing a "NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADA" demonstration in front of City Hall Saturday Dec.22.

PARTICIPATE IN A QUESTION AND DISCUSSION PERIOD ON

MONDAY JAN 14, 8 P.M.
553 SHERBOURNE

ROSEDALE

NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

Algeria Aided Plot to Kill Him, Bourguiba Says

Tunis, Jan. 18 (AP)—President Habib Bourguiba today charged that the recent plot against his life had help from neighboring Algeria. He said the Tunisian ambassador to Algiers will be recalled.

Bourguiba told a crowd of more than 200,000 that Tunisia's frontiers with Algeria will be severely controlled.

He said his Government is ready to "resume our relations (with Algeria), but mutual respect and sincerity should be established."

Bourguiba said some members of the Algerian Government had a hand in the reported conspiracy. He blamed the policies of Premier Mohammed Ben Bella.

"Not all members of the Algerian Government were involved," Bourguiba said. "Most of them criticize the policy of Ben Bella toward us.

"It is surprising and paradoxical to see Algeria—as soon as it became independent, thanks to the aid given by Tunisia — become a residence for the criminals and plotters against the Government of Tunisia."

The crowd, massed outside the capital's sprawling Arab Medina, roared "Ya hya Bourguiba" (Long live Bourguiba) as the President ended his speech.

A military court yesterday handed down sentences ranging from death to a year in prison to 26 men convicted of plotting his assassination. Thirteen were given death sentences.

Nuclear Demonstrator Pushed Boy Into Path, Cab Driver Testifies

A demonstrator against nuclear arms for Canada pushed a child into the path of his car at the City Hall Dec. 22, David Frank of Pape Ave. declared yesterday.

Frank, a cab driver, appeared as a Crown witness before Magistrate P. J. Bolsby in the hearing of unlawful assembly charges against 18 of the demonstrators.

He claimed he had to make a sudden stop when a small boy was pushed from the cab in front of his car.

"I saw an arm push the boy," said Frank. "As the boy was pushed, a sign dipped down."

Andrew Brewin, defense counsel, asked:

"You saw somebody push the boy in front of your car?"

"Don't you shout at me," cried Frank, a burly, broad-shouldered man.

He was advised by the magistrate to cool down and submit to cross-examination. He insisted that his car would have hit the boy had not Patrol Sergeant John Stewart lifted the child to safety.

The men charged with unlawful assembly were Peter Horbatiuk, 24; Allan L. Engler, 24; James Onyschuk, 19; Joseph Kuz, 39; Robert Horn, 45; Alfred H. Friend, 28; Archibald G. Moffatt, 24; Allan W. Harris; Patrick Brane; Harvey Golden; William F. Raymond; John Glenn, 26; Michael Shoenborn, 19; John M. Darling, 28; Charles C. D. Roach, 28; Timothy V. Dunn, 20; Clifford E. Orchard, 19.

The first 10 are also charged with creating a disturbance. So is Ross Dowson, self-declared Trotskyist and perennial mayoral candidate in Toronto.

The charge falls under Section 64 of the Criminal Code: "An unlawful assembly is an assembly of three or more persons who, with intent to carry out any common purpose, assemble in such a manner, or so conduct themselves when they are assembled as to cause persons in the neighbourhood of the assembly to fear on reasonable grounds that they (a) will disturb the peace tumultuously, or (b) will by that assembly needlessly and without reasonable cause provoke other persons to disturb the peace tumultuously."

Sgt. Stewart said he had reasonable grounds to fear the demonstrators would disturb the peace tumultuously.

He said the demonstrators had paraded along the north sidewalk of Queen St. W. at 3 p.m. on the Saturday before Christmas, and shoppers had complained they could not leave a department store because of the parade.

There were scuffles between private citizens and the demonstrators on the sidewalk in front of the City Hall, he claimed.

Allan Engler had identified himself as leader of the demonstration, the officer said. Engler refused to stop picketing on the sidewalk east of the cenotaph, he added.

Horbatiuk had refused to break off a speech he was making when warned by Sgt. Stewart; he and Engler were arrested.

Allan Harris was distributing literature. When a private citizen slapped his leaflets from his hands Harris asked the policeman: "What are you going to do about that "

"I told him he could pick them up again," said the sergeant. He said several citizens tried to wrest placards protesting against nuclear arms for Canadian forces from the demonstrators.

"You were under the impression these people didn't have the right to make a speech at the cenotaph?" suggested Mr. Brewin.

"I told them to stop speaking, but they decided to go on with their demonstration," said Sgt. Stewart.

Other police officers said the demonstrators called them fascists and gestapo after Horbatiuk and Engler were arrested.

One of the demonstrators failed to appear yesterday. Magistrate Bolsby ordered a bench warrant for John R. Fidler, 20. The hearing was adjourned until Feb. 1.

U.S. Supported Syria Uprising, Court Charges

Damascus, Jan. 18 (AP)—The Supreme State Security Court in a verdict published today charged that the U.S. consulate in Aleppo encouraged an uprising early last year by a [redacted] army group that sought [redacted] the [redacted]

(Star) Jan 19 1963

RON HAGGART

17 Ban Bombers Brought To Justice

IN THE city hall corridor outside A Court, the assembly of ban-the-bomb pickets was a lot quieter than it had been on the Saturday before Christmas when, on the sidewalk outside the same building, they had been charged with unlawful assembly.

Their assembly outside A Court lasted a lot longer, too. They had been called to the court at 10 a.m., and by lunchtime they were still strung along the hallway, as many of them sitting on benches as could find the room.

A pretty girl in black stockings idly ruffled the hair of the boy beside her, but her eyes were elsewhere, rivetted to a pamphlet called *Cuba's Agrarian Reform, A Speech by Dr. Fidel Castro.*

One bored lawyer

Others passed the time by reading *Peace News* and *The Militant.* Inside the courtroom, their small and eloquent lawyer, Andrew Brewin, sat slumped over the counsel table watching a parade of the sad-eyed who pass through magistrate's court: one who had been found with a drill lifted from a gravestone factory, another who had been too friendly in a movie theatre, another whose apartment furniture had for the second time been found to include a nickel-plated German automatic.

"You look bored, Mr. Brewin," the magistrate said. He was. No one had thought to tell him that his clients, the ban-the-bomb pickets, wouldn't make it to the docket until 2:15 in the afternoon.

When they assembled again in the afternoon, some of them, from the evidence of the bookstore bags under their arms, had used their idle time to advantage.

The constable in charge of getting the right accused in front of the right magistrate at the right time started to line up the 17 young men in the same order as their names appeared on the court list.

"All right, move along please. Come along please. Come along, come along," he cried urgently. He turned on the audience: "Anybody does any talking, go out in the hall."

While the pickets were being sorted out, a dark-skinned man with a sharp-trimmed beard walked in from the hall. He met the constable almost stomach to stomach and retreated outside again.

A few minutes later he tried again. "Get out of here!" the court constable shouted.

The crown prosecutor, sitting at his table inside the room, formed some words with his lips but the sound was lost. The prosecutor was saying "He's the next accused." No one heard.

Just able to make it

Most of the 17 ban-the-bomb demonstraters were now lined up single-file in front of Magistrate P. J. Bolsby. At the back of the court, a lady in a green alpine hat stood up and said something to the constable, pointing to the closed door to the hallway.

"Sit down!" shouted the constable.

She started to speak again. The constable walked toward her, waving her back to her seat with his clipboard.,

While this diversion was going on. Charles Roach, the man with the spike beard they were talking about, managed to slip in through the door unnoticed and take his place in line, just in time for his trial with the others on a charge of participating in an unlawful assembly.

Some of the picketers, it appeared, had not taken their arrest very seriously when they had been carted off to the Regent St. police station on that busy shopping Saturday just before Christmas.

A man whose name appeared on the summons as Richard Lovelace owned up in court to the fact that he was not the poet at all and his real name was John Glenn.

Another, a pink-cheeked young fellow named Robert Horn, had already been unmasked by officialdom who had found him not to be, as had been solemnly entered on his court records, Robert Cizdzillizci, 45, vice-president of the Argus Corp. (the company that does most of the company-holding for E. P. Taylor).

One unhappy picket

These details out of the way, Sgt. John Stewart gave his evidence: "The pedestrian traffic on the sidewalk was very heavy. The public were complaining bitterly about these individuals being permitted to carry placards on the sidewalk.

"The point which impressed me was they said it was a police job to move these people. . . . The people carrying placards were walking two to three feet apart and making it very difficult for pedestrians to pass between them. . . . I asked for the leader of this demonstration and Engler said he was in charge. . . .

"I asked him to have this demonstration stopped, but in fact it was not stopped.

"They commenced to chant 'We will not be moved' and continued singing this: 'We will not be moved.' "

The rights and wrongs of the crowded sidewalk on the Saturday before Christmas were not, however, decided all in one day and late in the afternoon the ban-the-bomb pickets filed out again, to come back for the rest of their trial on Feb. 1.

Douglas Campbell, the famous bearded park orator, followed them out. He had been in the audience. He had also been at city hall the afternoon of the arrests, but somehow he managed to avoid being picked up. He looked unhappy.

Jan. 25, 1963.

Dear Brothers and Sisters;

A petition addressed to the House of Commons urging it to call a Federal Referendum on the question of nuclear weapons for Canada has been launched by the Metropolitan Toronto Council of the New Democratic Youth.

We initiated the petition because Canada is now at the crossroads. The Liberal Party has declared itself in favor of Canada's acquisition of nuclear weapons. At the same time, it is apparent that the Conservatives are only equivocating in order to get the Quebec vote. Their arming of the Canadian troops with Voodoos, Honest Johns, and Bomarcs--all of which use nuclear warheads--makes it apparent that no matter what they say before the election, after the election they will arm these weapons with nuclear warheads. Everyone who is opposed to nuclear weapons must support the petition for a referendum. There is no alternative. No matter whether the Conservatives or the Liberals win the next election, Canadian forces will be armed with nuclear weapons. Only the powerful opposition of the people can reverse this trend!

Recent public opinion polls show that over 30% of the Canadian people--and over 75% of the people of Quebec--are now opposed to nuclear weapons for Canada. This already powerful opposition has developed without a real debate on the merits of a non-nuclear Canada. A referendum would be preceded by such a debate! The opposition to nuclear weapons, without a doubt, would grow. At worst, at least 40% of the voters would vote against a nuclear Canada. We need only recall that a 35% vote against conscription even during the Second World War prevented MacKenzie King from carrying through conscription for two years--and then only in a much softened form--to understand the impact of such a vote on any government.

The petition for a referendum has already been circulated to a number of New Democratic Party riding associations and trade unions in the Toronto area, and is supported by the recently formed Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. We hope that it will be circulated by all the anti-nuclear arms groups here. The slogan, "Let the People Decide, Call a Referendum on Nuclear Arms!" is supported by the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and at its last demonstration, was supported by the Toronto Campaign for Disarmament.

In order that the demand for a referendum be most effective, a Canada-wide campaign must be launched. Since the Toronto petition campaign was launched by the New Democratic Youth after consultation with the Federal secretary of the NDY, Bill Piket, we are looking forward to New Democratic Youth participation throughout the country. We are also asking the support of all other interested groups across the country. As John Wilson, Vice President of the NDY Metro. Council, said in a release to the press, "The NDY expects and looks forward to the co-sponsorship of the petition with all other anti-nuclear weapons groups and all other organizations who believe that a decision of such vital importance should only be made by the government after the population has given it a clear mandate."

I am enclosing a copy of the petition. If you or your group want further information, or wish to take part in the petition campaign write to the address below. Co-sponsorship or independent sponsorship would be welcomed.

Yours Fraternally,

Allan Engler,
Education Director,
Toronto NDY Metro. Council.

Allan Engler,
100 Baldwin St.,
Toronto 2B, Ont.

Time is Short! NDP Must Rally the People! Hold Mass Meetings!

Stop the Drive to Nuclear Arm Canada!

By The Editors

The drive to nuclear arm anada has more sharply differ- ntiated the NDP from the iberals and Conservatives in the ublic's mind than any other sue since it was founded in the mmer of 1961. The first re- ction of the leaders of the NDP as been to condemn the parties f big business and reiterate the arty's stand against the bomb, ms carrying the fight to stop the pread of nuclear weapons and ie further commitment of the anadian people to the aggres- sive military strategy of the U.S. State Department.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas reacted to Pearson's speech by calling for new elections before "any final commitments are made for the acquisition of nuclear arms."

When other party leaders followed suit it became apparent that, as Val Scott, NDP candidate for York Centre (Toronto) put it, "At last Canadians have a clear-cut opportunity to make up their minds on this vital subject, with the Liberals now in favor, the Conservatives apparently leaning towards them and only the NDP clearly and adamantly opposing the spread of nuclear weapons."

Now the record has been made. But more is required to block the recently stepped-up arms drive. This issue has raised all kinds of doubts about the old line parties and caused wide-spread concern among hundreds of thousands of people in all walks of life across the country.

It has sown dissention even in

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Scores of demonstrators march to rally against nuclear weapons, held at Unitarian Church in Toronto on Jan. 20, last day of the Conservative Party's national convention. The main theme of the rally which attracted several hundred persons, mainly youth, was for a nation-wide referendum asking the people to decide whether or not Canada should be nuclear armed.

DEFIANCE BY BC MLA COX SETBACK TO NDP WITCH HUNT

By Ernest Tate

VANCOUVER—The right-wing attack upon the socialist wing of e New Democratic Party broke out on a new front last week when edric Cox, NDP MLA (Burnaby), at present on a visit to Cuba, was e subject of a series of vicious attacks made to the daily press by DP provincial leaders Robert Strachan and Fred Vulliamy. This test campaign by the right-wing comes but only a few weeks after even members of the NDY were secretly summoned to a closed ecutive meeting and thrown out of the youth movement.

Cedric Cox is chairman of the ancouver Chapter of the Fair lay for Cuba Committee. He was vited to Cuba as a representa- ve of the committee by the aban government for the cele- ations of the fourth anniversary the revolution and to see Cuba. Strachan, insinuating that Cox id been neglectful of his con- tituents and was being "bought" the Cuban government, arged that "rather than traips- g to Cuba, he should apply him- lf more diligently to BC roblems. . . ." Sounding off like "big daddy" he stated that, "I n going to have a talk with him hen he returns and doubtless e trip will be discussed by the ecutive." There have been sug- stions that Cox may be expelled hen he comes back.

Cox's constituency has been ick to come to his defense and e Edmonds NDP club in Burn- y, in conjunction with the Oil, emical and Atomic Workers cal 9-601, are sponsoring a meet- g for him at the Capitol Hill all on Monday, January 21st, the y after he returns. A large turn- t is expected.

The NDP leadership's public mpaign against Cox, when he as out of the country and un- le to defend himself, reeks of nk opportunism. Paddy Sher- an, a leading political columnist the Vancouver Province was ick to point out how the whole tack was handled in a "politic- ly shrewd" manner. He sug- sted that a major effort may be ade by the right-wing to wrest e nomination from Cox next ection.

The response in the ranks of e party to the brass's campaign ainst Cox was immediate. The tack was so brazen that BC- DP MP Harold Winch rallied to ox's side to defend his freedom travel.

Refuting the canard that Cox as neglecting his responsibility his constituency, Winch stated at Cox "is one of the few ected members who spends full me on the job of being an MLA." he NDP is a democratic organi- zation," Winch said, "and nobody tells an individual what he shall or shall not do, or what country they may visit . . . I don't know what Strachan has in mind or why he said what he did—but nobody pulls dictatorship in the NDP."

Arne Hansen, president of the Burnaby constituency association backed Winch's statements. "If Strachan wants to get rid of Cox he's going about it the wrong way," he said. "I cannot agree with him when he says Cox should stay here and do some work for his constituency—no one works as hard for Burnaby as Cox."

Cox was quick to reply from Cuba and indicated that he was not backing down from a fight with the party brass. In a telephone interview with the Vancouver Province, Cox said "Strachan's statements are ridiculous. I spoke to my constituency before I left Vancouver. They told me that I should ignore Strachan and go to Cuba to find out the truth. I went as a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and I'll have a full report ready on my return."

Signs so far seem to suggest that the leadership of the party may have very well bitten off more than they can chew.

Party members are quick to see this latest witch-hunting incident against Cox as but a continuation of the purge of the left-wing started in November, when eight members of the NDY were expelled and three more suspended for "association" with the League for Socialist Action. The eleven victimized members of the party are still conducting their fight to remain in the youth section and are making an appeal to the membership.

The December 7th North Shore NDP Constituency membership voted to support the three expelled members who belong to their association, and maintain them with full membership rights. The constituency voted to condemn the whole action of the youth executive in expelling the eleven and called upon the adult provincial NDP executive to intervene and provide a fair trial.

A number of delegates to the provincial council of the NDP were instructed by some of their clubs to oppose the expulsions. Point Grey constituency, even though their delegate to the council supported the youth executive's action, mandated the delegate to vote for a fair trial for the youth.

George Pembleton, in the December issue of the **Western Pulp and Paper Worker**, published by the Western Canada Council of the Pulp and Paper Mill Unions in B.C., expressed a widespread rank and file sentiment about the expulsions when he commented at length on a letter one of the expelled had received from the youth executive. Pembleton refers in his column to a portion of the

See Page 2—PROTESTS

NDY PETITIONS VOTE ON A-ARMS

A petition is now being circulated by the Toronto area New Democratic Youth that urges the government to issue a referendum on the question of whether Canada should or should not have nuclear weapons.

The petition, launched after the Federal Executive Council of the NDY issued a press release supporting the referendum, states "The Canadian people are divided and uncertain on the merits of a nuclear or non-nuclear Canada. A thorough public debate on this matter would enable the Canadian people to weigh seriously and carefully all arguments, and to arrive democratically at a decision on this question of vital importance."

The idea of a referendum has already got the backing of the University of Toronto Combined Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the newly formed Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. At the last Federal Convention of the Canadian Capaign for Nuclear Disarmament Rabbi Feinburg included this demand in his keynote address.

Pearson Pressures For Speed-Up of Arms Race

By Paul Macpherson

Lester Pearson took Canada another big stride towards joining the U.S. dominated nuclear club and further projected the world in the direction of nuclear destruction when, in his recent major policy speech in Toronto, he definitely committed the Liberal Party to atomic warheads for Canadian forces both at home and abroad.

In revealing the position the party has actually long held, in tossing aside the reservations the Liberals have previously expressed, Pearson tried to make out that the Tories had forced his and any other Canadian government's hand. "The (Conservative) government must have decided back in 1959 that the two Bomarc bases are important links in the continental defense," he stated. "We Liberals at the time thought they were wrong in this, but the decision was made for Canada" he continued.

Announcing a heretofore unheard of doctrine that all future governments, Tory, Liberal or NDP, are bound by the actions of all past governments, he stated that "Our friends have the same right to assume that the commitments of Canada are the commitments of the nation; that they will not automatically disappear with a change of government."

The secret deal made by the Tories was brought out into the open by the retiring NATO commander, General Lauris Norstad, who provoked a national scandal when he declared that they had committed Canada to acceptance of nuclear weapons, and pointed out that almost all NATO countries, including West Germany, now have these arms under U.S. control.

Norstad's statements were quickly confirmed by Canadian Air Chief Marshal Frank Miller and by the former chairman of the Canadian chiefs of staff, General Charles Foulkes.

The recent Conservative convention in Toronto indicates that the government intends to carry through the deal arranged with the Pentagon, leaving Diefenbaker certain room to "maneuver" as he requested.

Liberal actions have spoken louder than their many words designed to suggest in some way that they have been opposed to the Bomarc, and the nuclear war-

See Page 3—PEARSON

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Pearson Preasures For Speed-Up of Arms Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

heads that go with them. It was the Liberal government, in which Pearson was external affairs minister, that negotiated the agreement with the Pentagon to bring in the missiles. Just before parliament broke up before the elections last spring, Pearson put pressure on the government to accept nuclear arms for Starfighters destined for Canadian troops in Europe.

No matter what political manoeuvres they may now engage in, the Norstad-Foulkes exposures show that both Tories and Liberals have identical views on all the key military, political and moral questions of the cold war. Both are solidly committed to nuclear warheads, NATO, NORAD and the entire buildup towards a nuclear war.

Pearson presented, as one of his key arguments, that by joining the nuclear club "there would be a Canadian finger on the safety catch" to control the "U.S. finger on the trigger".

But the lie to this argument was given during the Cuban crisis which saw Canadian forces in NORAD mobilized for action without any consultation with Ottawa. As the Globe and Mail editorial put it "President Kennedy gave the word as the RCAF prepared for war."

Canada has solid agreements with Washington committing it to a policy of sharing sovereignty over NORAD forces dependent on fullest consultation. But RCAF squadrons were alerted as Kennedy alerted U.S. squadrons—it was three days after Kennedy thrust the world up to the brink of war that Ottawa announced the alerting of these squadrons.

Britain and France are already members of the nuclear club which Pearson accepts and urges Canada must join. Did their membership act as a restraint in any way on the U.S. trigger finger? Kennedy's failure to consult the governments of these much more powerful nations all during the crucial days thrust the British Tory government into a political crisis of the first magnitude.

With his urging "Let us try to take defense and foreign affairs out of the arena of party controversy," Pearson hopes to take the vital issues of the day out of the hands of the people, and to pressure into silence opposition to his stand from the NDP and other sources. He is telling the people that they have been committed to nuclear weapons irrevocably and for all time, and to keep their noses out of it, to give the Tories and Liberals a free hand in this life and death matter.

"As a member of the NATO coalition," said Pearson, "we accept the nuclear deterent in the hands of the U.S. as essential for our defense; and we supply much of the uranium that goes into American nuclear bombs — and most of it came from my constituency.

"Therefore to say . . . . we will not accept nuclear weapons is dishonest and hypocritical unless we are willing to withdraw from NATO and refuse to export to anyone uranium for military defense purposes."

It has never been established that "we" the Canadian people, accept nuclear weapons in either Canadian or U.S. hands. "We" have never been consulted either in a referendum or an election. Both parties, to cover up their aim to bring Canada into the nuclear club, engaged in deceptive tactics in the June elections.

If the Canadian people were allowed to know the full facts and to voice their views on them through a nation-wide referendum, they might well agree with the logic of Pearson's argument that it is wrong to remain in NATO—which is nothing but a military alliance of the most aggressive character designed to sustain capitalism in Europe and imperialism abroad — and it is wrong to sell uranium for nuclear bombs. The Workers Vanguard has long taken just this position.

The Workers Vanguard
#82 Jan. 1963

POLICE CRACK DOWN ON ANTI-BOMB DEMONSTRATORS

In the biggest crackdown in recent years, Toronto police on Dec. 22 roughly broke up an anti-nuclear weapons demonstration and arrested 21 persons—including a passing postman and a shopper.

The demonstration in front of city hall, a traditional site of protest demonstrations, was branded by police as an "unlawful assembly". An additional charge of "creating a disturbance by shouting" was levelled at speakers at the rally.

The defending lawyer in their court case, which has been remanded until Feb. 1, is NDP member of parliament Andrew Brewin.

The demonstration, which had earlier picketed the Liberal and Conservative headquarters, was organized by the Youth Committee for Nuclear Disarmament, an ad hoc committee comprised of several youth organizations, including the New Democratic Youth, the Canadian High School Students for Disarmament, and the Committee of 100.

Among the demands their signs voiced were **"No Military Alliance with Nuclear-Armed Nations"; "No Nuclear Weapons for Canada"; and "Let the People Vote on Nuclear Arms".**

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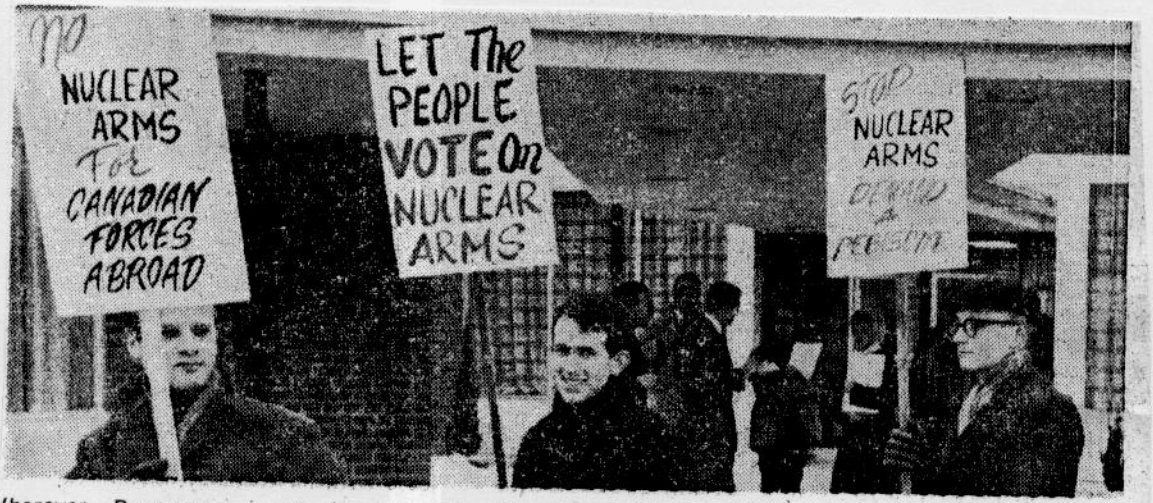

Wherever Pearson went in Toronto on the day he gave his infamous speech committing the Liberals to nuclear weapons, New Democratic Youth showed up to picket. Shortly after they launched a petition asking the government to issue a referendum on the question of whether Canada should or should not have nuclear weapons. They aim to have other organizations co-sponsor the petition and gather several hundred thousand signatures.

NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR CANADIANS

The Workers Vanguard

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Kennedy Breaks Govt. Dief Rallies Machine

By Ross Dowson

Canada isn't a banana republic, state still fairly common in atin America where the workers nd farmers are ruthlessly op-ressed by a puppet, controlled y the U.S. State Department on ehalf of the United Fruit Com-any. The Canadian capitalist lass rule Canada, as partners, nior partners, with the Ameri-n capitalists. But today that oesn't mean that a government n't going to be treated like a ooge head of a banana republic, Canada's Prime Minister John iefenbaker learned this month, ly a few weeks after the humi-iation of Britain's Prime Minister lacmillan.

With supreme arrogance, with tter contempt, not only of the anadian people, but of a govern-ent which has done its level est by it, U.S. ruling circles in-rvened in the debate that has en going on amongst the Cana-an people as to whether Cana-an forces should be armed with uclear weapons. And it wasn't half-thought out statement by a inor official but bore the un-istakeable imprint of the State epartment.

This outrageous intervention esigned to end the debate and ppose nuclear arms under U.S. ontrol on Canada, brought about e resignation of the defence inister, resulted in the downfall the government, caused a crisis the Tory party that has re-ulted in the resignation of Trade inister Hees and Associate De-nce Minister Sevigny, is having idespread repercussions in the iberal Party, and the end of it by no means in sight.

And it isn't at all that the iefenbaker government hasn't een doing right by the Pentagon nd the State Department. Diefen-aker has had problems, problems ommon to all governments sub-ct to elections—made somewhat ore sensitive in that his govern-nt is a minority government aced with an election—with aving to go to the people—at ny moment. In their arrogance he U.S. ruling circles demon-trate a total absence of concern bout such problems.

As veteran U.S. socialist Tom erry wrote in the **Militant** at the ime of Macmillan's mortification: Having tasted the fruit of cold ar victory in nuclear confronta-ion of the Soviet Union during he height of the Cuban crisis Uncle Sam has flexed his muscles nd bluntly asserted the right of merican imperialism to reign as ndisputed defender, champion nd chief beneficiary of the world apitalist order."

There is a lot of talk going the rounds that the Diefenbaker overnment has had no coherent r consistent policy on nuclear rms, that it has been a bumbling overnment. But there is no truth n this talk. While he let External ffairs Minister Green emit his omilies, and so allay the fears f the Canadian people, Diefen-aker took Canada down the path f nuclear armament. In 1957 his government agreed to the establishment of stockpiles of nuclear warheads in NATO nations. The next year his government decided it would provide aircraft that to be fully effective would require nuclear weapons, and later the same year agreed to the installation of Bomarcs in Canada.

If there are some "leaders" who thought that in 1961 NATO was non-nuclear or were taken in by Green, that is proof of their gullibility. The record sustains Diefenbaker's challenge to the house on Jan. 25; "we undertook to equip our squadrons assigned to NATO for a strike reconnaissance role, which role would in-

(See Page 2—BOSSES FEAR)

LABOR VIGOROUSLY OPPOSES A-BOMB

Canada's largest labor council, the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing some 120,000 unionists, vigorously re-affirmed its opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces at its Feb. 8 meeting. The motion, in line with the official position of the CLC (AFL-CIO), came from Local 28 of the Autoworkers and was passed by a 10 to 1 vote.

While it was presented with the approval of the executive, two of the 12 man body, W. D. Kearns of the Hotel Employees Union and Max Federman of the Fur Workers, a leading member of the NDP, spoke in opposition.

Federman called the CLC policy a "grave mistake" and urged acceptance of nuclear arms, "otherwise," he said, "we have no place in NATO." "Then let's get out of NATO!" shouted several delegates.

NDP Leader T. C. Douglas Blasts U.S. Intervention

"In the opinion of the members of the New Democratic party the statement issued yesterday by the United States state department constitutes an unwarranted and unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Canada.

It is unusual for a state department to issue a statement contradicting statements made in a house of commons by the prime minister of another country. It is even more unusual to have the release issued by the embassy here in Ottawa.

We in this party have very fundamental differences with the government on the questions of external affairs and defence policy, but we will not brook nor will any other group in Canada brook interference from the United States or from any other power in the discussion of our internal affairs.

I think the government of the United States should know from this parliament that they are not dealing with Guatemala, where in 1954 the state department had a substantial hand in throwing out the Arbenz government; nor are they dealing with Cuba, where in 1961 they promoted, financed and mounted an invasion of that country which was an inexcusable interference in the affairs of another member of the organization of American states, an action, I may say, which was in my opinion taken for no other reason than to make the world safe for the United Fruit Company and the

(See Page 6—NDP LEADER)

Is The Key Issue In Apr. 8 Election

By The Editors

The key issue in the federal elections coming up on April 8 is whether or not Canadian forces at home and abroad are to be nuclear armed. The steady pace at which the Canadian government has been preparing the arms build-up no longer satisfies the financial oligarchy that rules the U.S., their junior partners in Canada, and their political spokesmen in Washington and Ottawa. Now they want the bomb itself.

The eyes of the opponents of the nuclear arms drive the world over are focused on Canada. This election comes at a time when every decision has been made to nuclear arm Canada but the last, the final one. On April 8th the people of Canada have the opportunity to block this decision, to deal a powerful blow against the war drive and open up new roads in the struggle for peace.

The Toronto **Globe and Mail**, a long-time supporter of the Conservative Party, reflected the thinking prevalent in the political circles of Big Business when it reluctantly noted "It is probably inevitable that the nuclear arms issue will be prominent in the coming election campaign" and wailed "the best that can be hoped is that candidates will treat it . . . with restraint." This is a question of such vital importance that they don't want it to be handled in open and honest debate.

Whatever the differences among the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit, both real and alleged, they have one position in common. Regardless of how they try to talk around the question, they all have the policy of forwarding the arms drive. What differences they have on this question are based on how to trick and deceive the Canadian people so that the deed can be done with the least difficulty and under the auspices of their own particular party machine.

Liberal leader Pearson recently removed the mask that his party has long worn to reveal it as being more openly than any other in favor of nuclear weapons—all in the name of "honouring our commitments." But even he would mislead the people by claiming that, once here, negotiations would immediately begin with the U.S. government to remove the warheads to which the Tories have committed Canada. If it were actually their desire to not acquire them, as they try to make, out, they would demand negotiations to stop them from coming in now.

Social Credit, apparently not too concerned with even appearing to be politically honest, is dishing out two diametrically opposite positions. National leader Thompson, after repeatedly echoing Pearson's line in parliament, and having proposed a coalition with the "nuclear arms now" dissidents in the Tory party, has given the go-ahead to co-leader Caouette to tour Quebec saying "We are against nuclear arms, whether it be in Canada or outside the country."

Diefenbaker, sensitive to the popular opposition to nuclear arms, has tried to leave the impression that he too now has reservations and doubts—of a strictly practical character. But while he was prime minister, the Tory government brought into Canada and provided for Canadian NATO forces in Europe, weapons that are useless without nuclear warheads. Since November they have secretly negotiated with the U.S. government for the warheads themselves. Step by step, making deals behind closed doors, they have slowly but surely drawn Canada closer towards joining the nuclear club. By waiting until the NATO conference in Ottawa this May before making the final decision, and by claiming he will be "flexible" in making his decision, Diefenbaker wants to suggest a reluctance and reasonableness. His primary concern is not whether to bring them in or not. He has decided that. His problem now is what kind to bring in, when to time it, and how to do it in a way that will raise the least opposition.

Withdraw from NATO!

The NDP is the only party that has taken a clear stand against nuclear weapons. This sharply demarks it from all the parties of capital.

The NDP must now take full advantage of the new situation, a situation that offers the greatest opportunities to set back the arms build-up which threatens to result in an ability [illegible]

NDP Leader T. C. Douglas Blasts U.S. Intervention

"In the opinion of the members of the New Democratic party the statement issued yesterday by the United States state department constitutes an unwarranted and unprecedented interference in the internal affairs of Canada.

It is unusual for a state department to issue a statement contradicting statements made in a house of commons by the prime minister of another country. It is even more unusual to have the release issued by the embassy here in Ottawa.

We in this party have very fundamental differences with the government on the questions of external affairs and defence policy, but we will not brook nor will any other group in Canada brook interference from the United States or from any other power in the discussion of our internal affairs.

I think the government of the United States should know from this parliament that they are not dealing with Guatemala, where in 1954 the state department had a substantial hand in throwing out the Arbenz government; nor are they dealing with Cuba, where in 1961 they promoted, financed and mounted an invasion of that country which was an inexcusable interference in the affairs of another member of the organization of American states, an action, I may say, which was in my opinion taken for no other reason than to make the world safe for the United Fruit Company and the

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The Western Vanguard

NDP Leader T. C. Douglas

(Continued from Page 1)

Standard Oil Company in order that the latter might continue their policies of commercial exploitation.

Mr. Speaker, there are two parts of this statement which was issued yesterday to which I think the house ought to have its attention drawn. The first is this:

"The provision of nuclear weapons to Canadian forces would not involve an expansion of independent nuclear capability, or an increase in the nuclear club. As in the case of other allies, custody of U.S. nuclear weapons would remain with the U.S., joint control fully consistent with national sovereignty can be worked out to cover the use of such weapons by Canadian forces."

That is the end of the statement. I wish to point out first, Mr. Speaker, that this is not the view which the United States took when nuclear missiles, presumably under the control of the Soviet Union, were stationed in Cuba. The United States quite properly took the position at that time that this was an extension of the nuclear club, and that it did alter the balance of nuclear power.

May I point out, second, that it is for the Canadian people, through their elected representatives, to decide whether or not the acquisition of nuclear arms will expand the nuclear club and increase the danger of nuclear war. We in this party contend that stopping the spread of nuclear arms is a prelude to securing a cessation of nuclear tests and to reaching a treaty on nuclear disarmament. This is a Canadian decision, which has to be taken by Canadians and any attempt by any outside government to dictate to Canadians what their policy should be regarding the acquisition of nuclear arms will be both resented and ignored.

The other sentence in this statement to which I should like to draw the attention of the house is this:

"A flexible and balanced defence requires increased conventional forces, but conventional forces are not an alternative to effective NATO or NORAD defence arrangements using nuclear-capable weapons systems."

That is shown by the fact that other members of the alliance have not accepted nuclear weapons. If the Canadian people want to decide, as we think they should decide, upon a non-nuclear role for Canada, that is a decision which they have a right to make without any advice or any attempted intimidation from outside.

LABOR VIGOROUSLY OPPOSES A-BOMB

Canada's largest labor council, the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing some 120,000 unionists, vigorously re-affirmed its opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces at its Feb. 8 meeting. The motion, in line with the official position of the CLC (AFL-CIO), came from Local 28 of the Autoworkers and was passed by a 10 to 1 vote.

While it was presented with the approval of the executive, two of the 12 man body, W. D. Kearns of the Hotel Employees Union and Max Federman of the Fur Workers, a leading member of the NDP, spoke in opposition.

Federman called the CLC policy a "grave mistake" and urged acceptance of nuclear arms, "otherwise," he said, "we have no place in NATO." "Then let's get out of NATO!" shouted several delegates.

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Liberals Resorting to the Red Smear To Silence NDP on NATO Stand

Because of its opposition to nuclear arms the NDP has been getting the red smear—the long established technique employed by reactionaries to cover over and divert attention from discussion and effective action on the most serious matters. Liberal M.P. and truth squad leader Judy La Marsh opened up the campaign by declaring that the Voice of Women, shortly after Liberal leader Pearson's wife resigned from it, and all the other anti nuclear arms organizations, often "unwittingly play into the hands of our enemies".

But now Liberal leader Pearson himself, the man who always talks big about a clean, principled campaign, has joined the gang to smear the NDP position as serving "the first objective of Soviet policy." Mindful of Pearson's former words of opposition to nuclear arms, Douglas has parried: wasn't Pearson himself at that time "giving aid and comfort to the Communists?"

Having parried the slander, Mr. Douglas has declared that the NDP "supports" NATO. It is indeed surprising to hear party leaders and official leaflets advancing a position of positive support of NATO, even within the framework of it being conventionally armed. First thing wrong with this is that it just isn't true that official party policy is in any positive way support of NATO. The second thing is that if by saying so the party leadership hopes to forestall further attacks by the red baiters it is certain to fail miserably.

Simultaneous with this smear we have witnessed a general retreat in the NDP campaign from making nuclear arms the key issue. Instead of it having number one emphasis it is beng played down. The literature of some candates doesn't even mention nuclear arms. Others have covered it over with a welter of other points and some have presented it in such wording as to render it incomprehensible other than that the NDP is against nuclear war.

At this time of writing it would appear that to some degree the witch hunters have achieved their purpose in influencing the leadership of the party and in part removing the issue of nuclear arms from the campaign.

As this election campaign opened up, final arrangments were being made to equip NATO with the most devastatingly offensive nuclear force imaginable—25 surface ships carrying 200 of the latest Polaris rockets. A powerful protest would give heightened meaning to the NDP's opposition to the equipment of some 160 Canadian Starfighters stationed in West Germany with nuclear warheads. Besides the party leadership are duty bound to protest and announce that the NDP official position is now for Canadian withdrawal from NATO. That is the official position of the party—withdrawal from NATO if it becomes nuclear armed. It is now nuclear armed.

The party's position never was support of NATO in the framework that the leadership is now presenting it. The delegates to the final CCF convention in their majority took a position of opposition to NATO—many of them were delegates to the NDP founding convention. Following the founding of the NDP the Saskatchewan CCF-NDP convention took a straight position of opposition to NATO. The Vancouver Labor Council, one of the bulwarks of the NDP, has gone on record opposing NATO and NORAD and favoring unilateral disarmament.

A very large percentage of the delegates to the Ottawa convention sought to comit the party to irreconcilable opposition to NATO, which they attacked from various positions; that it is undercutting the UN, that it is an aggressive military alliance, that it is designed to serve as an instrument of imperialist policy, to uphold capitalism and maintain imperialism. The final position was adopted within this framework—NATO had already adopted a nuclear strategy. It was a compromise position—that the party would demand Canadian withdrawal should (but "when" would have been a more accurate word) it become nuclear armed.

No nuclear arms for Canada is the number one issue. But this position cannot be seriously sustained without holding to a principled position on NATO. The NDP is not opposed to nuclear arms in the hands of Canadian forces merely because there is a plethora of such arms already under the control of US imperialsm, the most dangerous force in the world today. The NDP is against Canada having nuclear arms and Canada being committed to a nuclear alliance which NATO now is.

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NDP Is Only Hope To Stop Arms Race

By C. COTTON

"I know where our group will stand. We will certainly be opposed", said NDP leader T. C. Douglas when asked what his party's position will be in any discussion the government may initiate on Canada acquiring nuclear arms for the Bomarc.

Shortly after the election, Mr. Douglas assured the press that if NATO should become nuclear armed, the NDP would urge Canadian withdrawal from the alliance — that it would implement the formal decision of the founding convention to this effect.

While his government has no mandate to make such commitments, Liberal Prime Minister Pearson has made them. U.S. State Department officials already know, according to Seymour Nelman, professor of industrial and management engineering at Columbia University, that the Pentagon has the capacity to over-kill the population of the 140 major cities of the Soviet Union at least 78 times. And now they express the conviction that the agreement to place the warheads in the Bomarc will be reached by mid-June, and that the warheads will be in position 3 months later.

Mr. Pearson made the agreements in personal conversation with U.S. President Kennedy. Though head of a minority government, with supreme confidence Pearson stated upon his return from his visit to Kennedy that the House would have a chance to discuss "before the final decision in this matter." But he emphasized "there may not be any technical, legal or constitutional requirements for that purpose."

Referring to the position his government intends to take on the multilateral nuclear force being discussed at the NATO ministerial council at Ottawa, Mr. Pearson

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A-Arms Issue Not Dead

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told the second day's session of parliament that Defence Minister Paul Hellyer and the External Affairs minister will be given final instructions following discussions with the heads of other NATO governments.

There is now no doubt that once the inter-Allied nuclear force is established, the RCAF air division (equipped with strike jet aircraft with nuclear potential) now under Supreme Allied Command in Europe will be turned over to it.

Mr. Pearson has no mandate but he can move with supreme confidence in his course because he knows that no matter what sniping Mr. Diefenbaker, as head of the official opposition may indulge in, he will provide Pearson with whatever support he needs. Before the month is out all the decisions will be made.

Both the Liberals and Tories are firmly committed to the preservation of capitalism at home and colonialism abroad. Such is the purpose of the NATO alliance. That is the purpose of its aggressive nuclear armament.

So ends the period of illusions for the anti-nuclear arms movement in Canada and the drawing of the balance sheet on all those who spread the illusion; first that the Liberals under Pearson could be in some way counted upon to block Canadian commitment to the nuclear arms drive, and then that the Tories — especially the Howard Greens — who committed every act but the final one, who prepared Canada with equipment that was operational only if nuclear armed — were in some way other than demagogically opposed to the nuclear arms race.

While the issue of nuclear arms has shaken wide layers of the Canadian population, so wide that it cut across traditional class formations, so wide that the Liberals and Tories have been very sensitive to it, it remains a class issue.

There is only one party that has taken a position of consistent opposition to the nuclear arms commitment and which "will certainly be opposed". That is the NDP, despite all the shortcomings of its official position as expounded by the Douglas leadership. Those who hoped to oppose nuclear arms, yet continued to nurse and promote the idea that this could be done while at the same time advocating support of the capitalist parties, have been harshly dealt with by life itself.

Equally harshly dealt with are those who imagined and promoted ideas that it was possible to take a half-way opposition to the arms race. For example the May issue of **Canadian Labor**, voice of the leadership of the CLC, thought that it could call for full Canadian participation in NATO, but within that nuclear armed body, play a non-nuclear role. The Jodoin leadership posed this as a "third choice", midway between total opposition to Canada's playing any role in the arms race, and those who were, like Pearson, running top speed to complete Canada's nuclear commitments. But no room has been left for any such "alternatives". The capitalist class, — both in Washington and Ottawa have called the shots — for, or against, Canadian nuclear participation in NATO.

The anti-war movement in Canada has suffered a major defeat. In its principal aim — to stop Canadian acquisition of nuclear arms — it has failed. Its conduct in the last election, its complete failure to mobilize the wide layers of support at its command, is stark evidence of the paralysis that grips such organizations as CCND, whose leadership, in their fevered search for "respectability", have made an almost total retreat from popular mass action into sterile and utopian blind alleys.

The false concept that the question of peace is above classes and above parties has already proved tragically self-destructive, as the socialists warned it would. Its continuation could well prove fatal — at least to the peace movement as it is presently constituted.

This situation can be rapidly reversed and the struggle for peace go forward on a higher plane — but not unless the lessons of the experiences of the past period are thoroughly digested, and not unless a program of militant opposition to the cold war, in all its aspects and ramifications, is adopted. Armed with such a program the peace movement can finally move forward to mobilize those fears and aspirations in wide layers of the Canadian people which gave birth to it in the first place.

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Gov't. Disavows Test Ban Signature by Signing Canada into Nuclear Club

The recent signing of the limited treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere and outer space is provoking an enthusiastic response from wide layers of world public opinion. Here in Canada, comment has ranged from Prime Minister Pearson's pious statement that it represents a first step toward total disarmament, to Canadian Labor Congress President Claude Jodoin's remark: "It's marvellous for the human race". The Canadian Communist Party's organ, the **Tribune**, exclaims ecstatically: "It shows that peaceful coexistence can work." And amidst considerable publicity and ceremony, the Liberal government signified its support by being among the first to affix its seal of approval to the document.

But no sooner was the ink dry, than the government on August 16 formally ratified the acquisition of nuclear weapons. These feindish instruments of mass destruction are soon to be positioned on four weapons systems — the Bomarc B ground-to-air missiles situated in Quebec and Ontario, the Voodoo interceptor aircraft stationed at five other points across the country, the CF-104 Starfighter strike-reconnaissance aircraft and the Honest John artillery rockets stationed overseas. And now the Defence Department has announced that the 6,500-man Canadian Infantry Brigade in West Germany will shift its operational area 75 miles eastward until it is right up against the "Iron Curtain". Thus the Cold War rages on.

By refusing to let the Commons defence committee receive "classified" information, including the actual details of the nuclear agreement, government authorities are able to maintain strict control over the terms of inquiry of the committee. Such secrecy takes place against a background of criticism and confusion surrounding the government's defence policy. For example, although government spokesmen have made much of so-called security measures (the "two-key system", etc.), a Canadian Press Ottawa dispatch appearing in the Vancouver **Sun** of July 13th states that defensive commanders in the event of what they might consider "an all-out surprise bomber assault on North America, could use nuclear weapons without reference to the Canadian or the United States Governments, informed sources say. North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) has such authority under such conditions, they say."

The cynical and high-handed act of nuclear-arming Canadian troops, carried out by a minority government which has been given no mandate by those with the greatest stake in the issue — the Canadian people themselves — underlines the limitations and weaknesses of the test ban treaty. In essence, the treaty embodies proposals identical to those advocated by the Eisenhower Administration five years ago.

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Talks Peace, Prepares War

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It does not ban underground tests — the United States government has carried out two such explosions in Nevada since the signing of the treaty. The French government has indicated clearly that it will continue testing atomic weapons despite the treaty. And there is nothing in the agreement which prevents further developments of nuclear weapons. While it is beneficial that there be no further marked increase in the amount of radioactive material in the atmosphere, for no matter how short a time, the cold war relationship of forces has been in no way altered to the side of peace.

Spokesmen for the United States State Department and the Pentagon have hastened to point out the benefits which the ban gives the American capitalist class in its military strategy. Averell Harriman, chief U.S. negotiator, pointed out that the treaty in no way inhibits the use of nuclear weapons in war. Defence Secretary McNamara states that the U.S. numbers its nuclear warheads in the tens of thousands, that it has more than 500 missiles and will have 1,700 by 1966, as well as hundreds of strategic bombers on air and quick-reaction alert, and that this superiority will be prolonged rather than diminished by the treaty.

This was so, McNamara told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, because testing would be limited to underground, and in this environment the U.S. has had substantially more experience; hence the treaty would at least retard Soviet progress and prolong the duration of American technological superiority. From the Pentagon's point of view, he stated, "the risks under the treaty are either small or under our control, and the values of the treaty (for American interests) are substantial". McNamara also revealed that the U.S. government plans a stepped-up program of underground tests and will maintain the laboratories and sites to launch a major atmospheric series "should the need arise". It remained only for President Kennedy, chief spokesman for the New Frontier, to stress that today the United States has enough nuclear power to "kill 300,000,000 people" in an hour, and to add in an inadvertent slip of the tongue, "Even with a limited test ban we could improve on that."

As veteran reporter James Reston of the **New York Times** puts it, in describing the much-touted test ban: "What is at issue is merely that the great men who were not testing above ground, have agreed formally and tentatively not to test above ground, and have done so in a treaty that anybody can denounce if he thinks the other fellow, whom he doesn't trust, is about to test. It is not a bad idea, but there is really less here than meets the eye."

The fact is that the Pearson government has utilized the illusions that have been whipped up around the test ban to more firmly commit Canada to the U.S. State Department's offensive nuclear strategy and to place Canadian NATO forces in an even more offensive posture in relation to the USSR.

It is imperative that the New Democratic Party and the Canadian peace movement mobilize their forces behind NDP leader Douglas' demand that the government reopen the nuclear arms debate in Parliament, with the intention of forcing renunciation of the agreement. Now is the time, as never before, to register a protest against this violation of the desires of the Canadian people for new initiatives to end the escalating arms race. Lobbying Tory and Social Credit MP's who have double-talked and tricked the anti-war movement for so long, and letter writing campaigns, no matter how well intentioned, will do nothing to reverse the decisions already taken. The time is short, but the warheads are not yet in place. Only a serious effort to mobilize demonstrations at nuclear sites, petitions of protest mobilizing the vast strength of the organized labor movement, and in the last analysis, political action through the NDP, the only party with the potential of terminating Canada's commitment to the war drive, will force the reversal of this headlong race to nuclear suicide.

The Workers Vanguard

#90 October 1963

Last Call for Action Against U.S. A-Bomb on Canada Soil

There are less than 30-29-28-2? days to go. The Bomarcs at La Macaza, Quebec and North Bay, Ontario will be nuclear equipped, according to an interview that the commander of the Northern NORAD region had with United Press International on September 27, within 60 days of that date. The nuclear armament of the CF101 Voodoo jet interceptor squadrons based in Chatham, N.B., Bagotville, Que., Ottawa, North Bay and Comox B.C. will take a little longer, Air Vice Marshall Harvey said — "several months longer."

Now, as sort of an afterthought, Prime Minister Lester Pearson has told the house that the August 16th agreement his minority government signed with the US State Department permitting the nuclear armament of the Bomarcs also permitted the Pentagon to nuclear arm the US Air Force interceptors based in Newfoundland — on Canadian soil.

One of the big arguments used to overcome the popular opposition to Canada becoming nuclear armed at a time when there is widespread talk about the test ban agreement heralding a big stride in the direction of world disarmament, was that while the nuclear tips will be under US control, the Bomarc missiles which are necessary to deliver them, will be under Canadian control. This is the famous two key control theory.

This theory served the purpose of meeting a viewpoint that is popularly held right across the country that the rulers of the US are the greatest danger to world peace. At the same time it built up the illusion that "our own" rulers were substantially different and could be counted upon to cancel out any hasty and ill-considered actions that, without very

(See Page 3 PROTEST)

PROTEST A-BOMB COMING HERE

(Continued from Page one)

good and very substantial cause, would blow us all to hell in a nuclear holocaust. Now, having served its purpose this ruse has been exposed by the agreement over Newfoundland. With it the State Department will have its own nuclear forces under its own control right on Canadian soil.

What else is in the August 16th agreement? What other deals is the government committed to, impugning on the fate, not only of the Canadian people but of all mankind — made without their having any knowledge or any say of any kind?

Pointing up the correctness of the demand that the **Vanguard** has campaigned for since its inception —that there should be a popular referendum on the question of acceptance of nuclear arms — the government, in spite of the protest of NDP leader T. C. Douglas, has arrogantly refused to put the agreement before parliament.

Mr. Pearson used the excuse that the August 16 agreement "is an executive agreement, an exchange of notes between governments," and stated that all "the customary and appropriate constitutional procedures have been followed." When he revealed the Newfoundland deal and Mr. Douglas questioned that there would be joint control, Mr. Pearson arrogantly replied that the members would have to take "my word."

But the trump card to justify their secret diplomacy which has now unmistakably made Canada a military satellite of the US State Department was played by the Secretary of State for External Affairs — NATO! He played on the fact that not only the Liberal, Progressive Conservative, Social Credit and Ralliement support Canadian membership in this aggressive military alliance of the capitalist powers but the fact that the NDP leadership, despite the widespread opposition in the party's ranks have also committed themselves to Canada's continued participation in NATO. He appealed to, he questioned their adherence, their loyalty to the Western alliance by challenging that "an exchange of notes of this nature should be made public at this juncture was not in the interests of the security of this nation or the security of the NATO alliance."

We are now approaching a turning point in the anti-nuclear arms struggle which has involved more persons on an active participation basis than any other social question in decades. Tens of thousands, young and old, have rallied in demonstrations, mass meetings, petitions, against nuclear arms.

Is this agreement, signed behind the backs of the Canadian people and which will result in the planking of nuclear arms here under the control of the trigger men of the Pentagon and a Canadian political - military complex which has proven to be nothing but their abject lackies, going to take place without so much as a protest? Are the nuclear warheads going to come wheeling over the border without so much as a protest?

There is no question that the whole anti-nuclear arms movement has been undergoing a grave crisis over the past year. It cannot come out of this crisis without adopting a clear and unequivocal position against the NATO alliance. The coming CUCND and CCND conferences must seriously analyze how this mighty and promising movement was diverted by the Liberals, the Tories, by Canadian Peace Research Institute, and take a new orientation.

But to gear the movement to come to grips with these problems it is essential that all the forces possible be organized **now** — to protest and to demonstrate against nuclear arms on Canadian soil.

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The Workers Vanguard #91

Shake-out in Top Leadership as —

Anti-Bomb Group Debates Policy

By R. Brock

Montreal — Oct. 27 — The special general meeting of the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, held in Montreal this weekend witnessed a sharp, far-ranging and fundamental debate which resulted in the adoption of a new program reflecting a changed conception of the anti-nuclear arms movement in this country. The conference resulted in a shakeup in the top leadership, with the more radical forces capturing a clear majority of the positions on the national directorate, and the symbolic resignation of Justice Thorson, chief of the Exchequer Court and long a leading representative of the philosophy of trying to win over the warfare-state committed Liberals and Tories by gentle, friendly persuasion, inside "connections", and bootlicking "respectability".

The conference itself took place against a background of mounting frustration in the ranks of the CCND. Having based its entire program on the single policy of "no nuclear arms for Canada", and stubbornly maintaining a "non-partisan", no-politics approach even in the recent election campaign which saw the NDP as the only party unequivocally opposed to the nuclear armament of Canadian forces, the peace movement has now been badly demoralized by the cynical maneuvers of the Pearson government, supported by the Diefenbaker Tories, in its acceptance of nuclear warheads for the military hardware acquired during the past five years. It has become increasingly clear to even the most muddle-headed pacifist that this armament takes place within the overall context of the cold-war strategy pursued by the U.S. State Department and its buddies in the External Affairs and Defence Departments in Ottawa. In the words of the CCND Policy Committee's draft program: "The new Canadian commitment to nuclear weapons is but a part of a much more basic commitment to 'peace' through military strength. Military strength has today come to mean nuclear weapons and a series of military alliances."

And hence, the draft proposed that the CCND demand that Canada "withdraw from all regional military alliances" — alliances which "commit us to the nuclear arms race and the Cold War". It was the alliance controversy which dominated the whole policy discussion.

Delegates spoke of the need to enlarge the perspective of the movement, to take a position on international matters, such as the bloody war being waged by the U.S. in South Vietnam against a popular peasant liberation movement. The need to form a consistent overall strategy envisaging a reorientation in the entire Canadian foreign and defence policy was frequently expressed. As delegate Stan Grey of McGill University pointed out, "We must challenge the whole structure of the cold war system", and "go beyond the confines of limited, day-to-day political goals. We must present to the Canadian people a radically different alternative solution." National organizer Dimitri Rousoppolos cut across the phoney argument of the conservative elements who uttered Cassandra-like warnings about decline in numbers and influence if the meeting adopted a more fundamental program, when he told of how the British CND adopted a unilateralist position, then found itself growing in numbers and popularity.

The arguments of the conservative top leadership revealed the utter bankruptcy of their own position. Incredibly enough, national secretary K. C. Woodsworth took up the fatuous legal argument of Thorson that Canada was "not really a nuclear power" because, as External Affairs Minister Martin had stated October 3rd, the U.S. retains custody and control of the warheads (!), and declared that he thought the MP's might still reverse the government's decision.

However, despite the majority support for the more radical position, many of the delegates appeared to fear a split in the organization, and eventually a compromise policy was adopted. Considerably watered down, the new statement as endorsed by the conference by a vote of 41 to 4 (even the conservative Toronto chapter voting for it) stated that the CCND "is opposed in principle to, and will devote itself to an educational campaign against, the system of military alliances, as being wrong and obsolete, and as having to be superseded by general and complete disarmament, a competent world authority, and a levelling up of the developing nations".

This rather vague statement, of course, leaves the leadership free to interpret as they wish the meaning of "opposition to the system of military alliances". And there is a real danger that, although Thorson resigned immediately, the basic division in the top echelons of CCND, which has paralyzed the leadership during the past year, has not been resolved, but simply papered over. But the vote to fill vacancies on the national directorate saw the election of a radical slate, all with views opposed to NATO. These included Colin Cameron, well-known New Democratic Party MP.

Despite the increased political awareness and militancy of the delegates to this conference, it was obvious that many of them harbour illusions with regard to the United Nations, and particularly on the question of a "UN Police Force". Many failed to see the contradiction between opposition to American imperialism, and yet support of the same imperialist-controlled organization which was responsible for the death of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo — a country in the hands of a UN Police Force. There was also a general tendency to overrate the significance of the test-ban treaty, although delegate John Lee from Toronto eloquently demonstrated how the subsequent nuclear arming of Canada exposed the pact as "a mere piece of paper".

In the Sunday sessions, delegates discussed plans for action in the immediate future, in opposition to the imposition of the nuclear warheads. Here again, the demoralization of the movement was evident. Suggestions of a special action subcommittee were adopted by the delegates, including the submission of a brief to the Commons Defence Committee, and yet another lobby of MP's. At the same time, however, on the urging of some delegates, it was also decided to launch a door-to-door distribution of a pamphlet setting forth the views of the CCND on the nuclear question, and a program of demonstrations at the weapons sites was proposed for the consideration of local branches.

One of the most important contributions at the conference was the speech of Jacques Larue-Langlois, the youthful chairman of the Mouvement pour le Desarmement et la Paix, the largest peace group in Quebec. He pointed out that in the French-Canadian peace movement, alliances such as NATO are not an issue — no one even thinks of supporting them. The Quebec tradition of anti-militarism, he said, places their movement far ahead of that in English Canada, both in relative numbers and influence.

THE LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION
in Vancouver
875 East Hastings.
in Toronto
81 Queen St. W.

The Workers Vanguard #93 Jan 1964

Montreal Pickets Protest Attacks on Peace Walkers

Fifty Montrealers demonstrated in front of the United States Consulate here on January 11th. They were expressing their solidarity with the team of marchers who left Quebec City last May on a 3,500 mile Walk for Peace to Guantanamo, Cuba, and in protest against their mistreatment by police and civic officials in town after town in the U.S.

The picket was composed largely of CUCNDers, members of Le Mouvement pour Disarmament Nucleaire et la Paix, and sympathizers. They distributed copies of a submission to the American government which noted that the marchers, particularly since they had reached Georgia, have been continually harassed, attacked, tortured and arrested.

Dated January 7th, the leaflet states that 14 of the marchers who were jailed in Albany on December 23 for refusing to by-pass the city center, are today to appear in court.

It asks the government to launch an investigation into the plight of the Peace Walkers and points out that similar marches "in many countries, including those behind the 'Iron curtain' have been permitted to leaflet and talk to people at will." It challenges: "Why are they not accorded the rights of freedom of speech and communication as guaranteed by the American constitution. We are here to ask this question of the American government."

Le Devoir contained a lead editorial by Andre Laurendeau in support of the protest.

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Keep Canadian Troops Out of Cypriot Affairs!

(By The Editors)

Only a matter of days ago the first battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment was prepared to head into Cyprus as part of a British-U.S. 10,000 man NATO force. At that time the conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots was being reported in the press as imperilling world peace and requiring immediate intervention on the part of Canada and others.

There is now a notable cooling off. The Van Doos are still on the alert but the government is talking about certain requirements that it would like met before committing Canadian participation.

Is the emergency less? Is the government less concerned about "peace keeping."? One thing is sure — the least concern of the Pearson government and its NATO allies is the safety and well-being of the Cypriots.

The Feb. 15 Toronto Telegram carries an article by an A. Anderson,

(See Page 3 — NO CANADIAN)

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No Canadian Troops to Cyprus

(Continued From Page One)

former news editor of the Times of Cyprus (1957-59), entitled — Cyprus as a NATO Pawn. "NATO's prime concern if it comes in," writes Anderson, "will be to keep NATO together — inevitably by placating Turkey — and Cyprus will be only a pawn in that grand strategy."

The same day the editors of the Globe and Mail affirm this view. "It was not . . . primarily to protect the Cypriots . . . The crisis is not that the Greek-speaking majority and the Turkish-speaking minority are in a state of civil war" that Britain enlisted U.S. support for a NATO intervention. The problem, they say, is the NATO-allied Turkey — Turkish intervention. "Two members of NATO would then be at war with each other and the Mediterranean flank of the Western Alliance would be in chaos."

How did Turkey enter into the scheme of things? It was reintroduced by Britain in 1955, after it had renounced all claims 30 years before. Anthony Eden, faced with armed insurrection against British occupation, invited Turkey to a tripartite treaty. From then on, because Turkey raised all kinds of fears about the future of the Turkish minority, Britain with a great show of reluctance, was "compelled" to remain, despite the opposition of the Cypriots, to "preserve the peace."

When Britain finally had to concede independence she imposed a constitution which favored Turkish influence — which even granted the Turkish vice-president absolute veto over foreign affairs, defense and security. The constitution also assured Britain two military bases which she shares with the Pentagon.

Mr. Pearson was preparing to send in Canadian troops in order to preserve NATO's interests. What has caused him to pull back? Cypriot President Makarios has demanded that any intervening force be under UN auspices. But Mr. Pearson has always proclaimed the UN as an instrument of peace. Besides it proved a suitable instrument to preserve imperialist interests in such situations as Korea and the Congo. The new element in the situation is Makarios' insistence that the force be under the Security Council's control. This could open the door to the Soviet Union's participation in the Eastern Mediterranean!

The NATO powers, with the Pearson government in tow, are now attempting to work out a new formula to preserve intact their strategic position, their imperialist interests in the Mediterranean. But the Canadian people have no interests in that. Their concern is that there be peace, not war — that the Cypriot people determine their own affairs. No Canadian troops should go into Cyprus under any fromula worked out by imperialism. Canada should withdraw from NATO while there is still time.

CAMBODIAN CHIEF OF STATE, Prince Norodom Sihanovik, threatens to sever all relations with the U.S., to establish diplomatic relations with North Viet Nam, and to sign a military alliance with China, if his proposed conference on the neutralization of Cambodia is not convened by the end of May.

Dr. Spock Speaks Out on Peace

By R. Blake

The man who wrote "The Bible" spoke at Massey Hall in Toronto last week. The man's name is Dr. Benjamin Spock, pediatrician, friend, guide to 13,500,000 American mothers. He spoke to an audience of 2,000, not about feeding schedules or thumb sucking, but about peace.

"It has been estimated," said Dr. Spock, "that a one year old baby has only 1½ percent chance of death through disease and accident before he reaches the age of 21. That's a small percent compared to the chances of the whole world blowing up in the next twenty years. A doctor should give correct proportion to the various dangers."

Dr. Spock also urged parents to encourage their children to join the peace movement. He said that American children were being given a false and unrealistic picture of the world, particularly of the Soviet Union. He pointed to the insane expenditures on war in America as compared to our pathetic foreign aid programs to the underdeveloped nations—"the Cubans were due for their revolution," he said. "All Latin America is on the brink of social upheaval." He said several times that the public has to take matters into its own hands and fight for peace.

Dr. Spock's **Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care** has sold over 16 million copies. Dr. Spock is over 6 feet tall; he has big hands and a gentle manner. He is an American Institution. When Dr. Spock speaks, millions of women on this continent listen.

Dr. Spock says a lot of sane things about peace, and it's wonderful to have him on our side. A man like that can convince a lot of people that its time to speak out against war, and he can start a lot of others at least considering the problem.

But the really terrific thing about Dr. Spock is that he doesn't seem to go along with all those people who seem to feel that all we have to do is throw up a few picket lines and then sit there politely waiting for the government to disarm. He has said that the government is afraid to disarm because of the pressures of business—especially the arms industry.

Dr. Spock believes that there is an economic drive to war in our society. In fact he said in one of his pamphlets on peace that "the Russians want peace even more than Americans, because they cannot afford increased consumer goods and an arms race." (Imagine those poor Russians, wanting bread and butter instead of bombs! Here we burn wheat while people live on relief, build bombs and cut university budgets, and they call it the Great American Way of Life).

So Dr. Spock believes that the people of America have to fight this drive to war, have to fight government policies. Particularly women have to do this, he said—for the sake of their children.

Well, Dr. Spock may not always be right about what he says we should do for our children, but he has a pretty fair batting average on these questions and this time I think that he is batting 1,000. We have to fight for peace. It's the one thing our children have to have.

That's why in Canada we are building a labor party which is committed to disarmament in its platform. If we are going to have peace, we need such a party with a socialist program in control in Ottawa and in Washington, a party which will reorganize and plan society for peace instead of war.

"Dr. Spock is worried" announced the captions that were published two years ago when he joined the Peace Movement. And he is worried still. Dr. Spock points out that the Peace Movement, built on the idea that it can "pressure" governments which are merely tools of big business into disarming, is declining. He has said that Kennedy (who he supported) made a "mess" of Cuba, and that the same thing is happening again in Viet Nam. He says that the government's hands seem to be tied.

Dr. Spock has done a lot for us. He did a lot when he wrote his book, and more when he joined us in fighting for peace. Let's do something for him and build the NDP into a party that will challenge, then topple, the parties like the Tories and Liberals, (the Democrats and the Republicans in the U.S.) who can do nothing but frustrate and disillusion a man who wants only the best for us and our children.

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 9 (No. 4) (100) Mid-August, 1964 Toronto—Price 10 cents

U.S. Blow at N. Vietnam Rouses World Protests

Among the world wide protests against the August 5 U.S. assault on North Vietnam, which threatened the world with escalation into nuclear war, were three modest ones in Canada. Some forty Torontonians that evening picketed the U.S. consulate on University Avenue. The demonstration, hurriedly called under the auspices of the League for Socialist Action and the Youth Committee for Nuclear Disarmament upon failure of other anti-war groups to respond, was subsequently viewed by tens of thousands over CBC TV.

Simultaneously a demonstration of approximately the same number composed of NDPers, NDYers and LSA supporters appeared before the Vancouver consulate with signs protesting Canadian support of the U.S. action and warning of the danger of another Korea. The following Saturday a group of Vanguard campaigners put a picket on the Canadian federal government building in Sault Ste. Marie on the edge of the U.S.-Canadian border.

Elsewhere protests roused hundreds and tens of thousands in impressive demonstrations. Over two million people in Peking marched past the North Vietnam Embassy. Two hundred university students stormed the U.S. information centre in Dacca, East Pakistan and smashed it. In Algeria thousands of students and trade unionists demonstrated. In Japan a meeting representing 137 organizations including the Communist Party and the Socialist Party formed a working committee to organize mass activity and meetings against the U.S. aggression. There were protest actions of various forms in Sweden, Denmark, Paris, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand, and of course in the U.S. itself.

Among prominent British figures protesting the U.S. action were Bertrand Russell, Fenner Brockway, Barbara Castle, Jennie Lee, Cannon Collins, Kingsley Martin, along with prominent trade unionists such as A. Lambert of the AUFW, P. Belcher of the TWN and T. Parring of the FBU. The Glasgow Trades Council representing 100,000 workers, unanimously condemned the U.S. action and there were a series of demonstrations by various groups over several days of the crisis in London and elsewhere.

SASK. CCF RALLY OPPOSES NATO, OAS

Among the resolutions passed by the 704 official delegates who participated in the recent Saskatchewan CCF convention was one that resolved "that this convention assembled categorically reject any suggestion of the wisdom of merger of any kind with any other political party" and which firmly stated that "we deplore any irresponsibility of any of our members who discuss questions related to merger as though there were some merit to the idea."

The resolutions on international affairs committed the 37,000 member strong movement to advocate "that Canada leave NATO forthwith and until this is accomplished we resist any multi-lateral force for NATO," to advocate the "elimination of nuclear weapons from Canadian soil" and "the termination of Canadian participation in NORAD."

The convention also went on record as demanding that "Canada refuse to join the Organization of American States" and "use every means in her power to bring to an end American harrassment of Cuba as well as American interference in the affairs of Laos and South Vietnam."

The Truth Behind U.S. State Dept. Charge of Vietnamese Aggression

What is the truth about the Gulf of Tonkin incident which U.S. President Johnson declared required U.S. forces, armed with nuclear capacity, to assault North Vietnam? What is behind the stories about tiny Vietnamese PT boats taking on mighty U.S. warships?

Only last April, U.S. chief delegate to the UN, Adelai Stevenson, told the security council, following a similar assault by the British against Yemen, that the U.S. has "repeatedly expressed" its emphatic disapproval "of retaliatory raids wherever they occur and by whoever they are committed." Then, Stevenson said such raids could "quickly escalate into full scale wars."

Even Stevenson himself admitted to the ludicrousness of the stories that his government's propagandists presented — they "make no sense whatsoever standing alone." "They defy rational explanation," he said, "except as part of a larger pattern with a larger purpose." The larger purpose of course, according to Stevenson, is Chinese conquest of Southeast Asia.

On August 8th following the Liberal government's commitment of Canada, on the strength of this incident, behind the U.S. State Department's actions and any others it may take, NDP M.P. Herridge asked Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Hon. Paul Martin, if he "is convinced that the U.S. authorities are telling the world the complete truth in respect to certain unfortunate incidents in the Vietnamese area recently?" The Honorable Paul Martin naturally replied, yes! But by then Mr. Martin was fully aware of what Senator Morse of Oregon had revealed on the basis of information given in executive session by Secretaries Rusk and McNamara to U.S. officials. On July 31 U.S. warships had been on patrol within 3 to 11 miles of North Vietnam territory during the shelling of two North Vietnam islands by South Vietnamese PT type boats, given to the South by the U.S.

There can be no doubt that Martin has been long aware that as early as 1957 the U.S. had created, with the agreement of South Vietnamese authorities, special services trained for operations into the North. According to Georges Chaffard of the authoratative **Le Monde**, from 1961 these forces took on the purpose "to disorganize the economic and military potential of the North in order to prevent its aid to the rebels in the South, an aid one feared without yet having formal proof of it."

Nor could Mr. Martin be ignorant of the plan named after the head of the U.S. State Department Planning Staff, the Rostow Plan No. 6 discussed in the March 9 **Newsweek** which provides for a naval blockade, PT boat raids, and strategic raids on North Vietnam. It is apparent that U.S. State Department policy is of such a highly provocative character as to practically assure that a Gulf of Tonkin incident would take place.

"Very palpable untruths", "calculated untruths deliberately fashioned to further the Kennedy-Johnson administration's aims", is how J. B. Lamb, a retired RCN Lieutenant-Commander and editor and publisher of the Orillia **Daily Packet and Times** characterized the U.S. State Department version of the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

On the basis of his own naval experience, analyzing the information made available by the Johnson administration itself, particularly that pertaining to the alleged second attack by North Vietnam PT boats, Lamb declares that it was not U.S. naval vessels that were attacked but quite the opposite. It was U.S. vessels that attacked motor torpedo boats of North Vietnam.

The retired RCN Lieutenant Commander's comments are all the more damning since he states that "the new policy . . . the more aggressive policy of U.S. forces may have every justification." But, he says: "there is simply no justification whatever for these actions to be cloaked in a mantle of falsehood and misrepresentation by which the attacker becomes the attacked, the victim the aggressor." "The public should be warned to accept all future pronouncements from official U.S. sources with the reservations they so obviously require."

But it was precisely these "palpable", these "deliberate untruths," this "mantle of falsehood and misrepresentation" that the government of Canada cloaked itself in, utilized, in order to justify its commitment of the Canadian people to support of the U.S. actions.

The assault on North Vietnam has deliberately and systematically been in preparation for sometime. Politically it represents a desperate attempt on the part of the U.S. government to prevent the collapse of what NDP leader T. C. Douglas characterized in the house as "sawdust Caesars who are perpetuating dictatorships without the consent of their subjects"—the U.S. puppet regime in Saigon.

Events since August 5 have revealed that even this type of aggressive action, designed to strengthen Major-General Nguyen Khanh and his clique of venal lackeys, is inadequate to shore up the crumbling South Vietnam political apparatus. It was only a matter of days after the Gulf of Tonkin incidents that Nguyen Khanh assumed the office of the presidency in a shake-up designed to consolidate power in his hands.

The new wave of victories by the heroic forces of the South Vietnamese freedom fighters, despite the mounting number of U.S. troops and increased U.S. material aid, has provoked new crisis in the regime. The first anniversary of the Buddhist struggles that culminated in the overthrow and death of President Diem has led to a series of struggles that swept up students and thousands of others on such a scale that within a week Nguyen Khanh resigned

The continued successes of the revolutionary Viet Cong forces are of such a scope that a Central Intelligence Agency officer's report suggesting the necessity of a negotiated settlement has been leaked to the world press. But in the light of the utter cynicism of the U.S. State Department as revealed by the Gulf of Tonkin incident there should be no illusions on this score. It may well be, that confronted as they are by the spectre of defeat, the rulers of America will indulge in new adventures into North Vietnam—and beyond into China. That is why there should be a persistent campaign to force the withdrawal of U.S. forces in Vietnam and win aid to the freedom fighters there.

Withdraw Troops in Vietnam Demands Toronto Picketline

bloody record

An idea of the monstrous crimes that are being committed in the name of freedom in South Vietnam can be gained from the 6 page dossier of facts and figures that have been compiled by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation of England. The figures are considered conservative as they were compiled before mid-1963.

Numbers killed by late 1962; 100,000 - - - 40,000 in 1962 alone.

Numbers held in camps designated "concentration camps": over 5,000,000 by mid-1962. The number of students so held by late 1962; 45,000. The number of secret police; 300,000 by mid-1963.

Number of people in strategic hamlets by mid-1963; over 6,000,000. They are described as concentration camps with spikes, moats, machine-gun turrets, forced labor, and patrols.

Some 70 Torontonians mounted a picket demanding withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam in front of the U.S. Consulate on December 19. Despite the sharp cold many later joined another picket just off the U of T campus.

Various pieces of literature were handed out. League for Socialist Action supporters circulated an appeal adopted by the International Conference on Soldarity with the People of Vietnam held in Hanoi November 30 and addressed to the American people. The LSA pointed out that the Canadian government is party to the U.S. atrocities through the failure of its representatives on the commission struck off to supervise the Geneva Agreement to protest the U.S. power build-up.

Spokesmen for the CUCND informed police that they had no intention of submitting their picket signs to their scrutiny beforehand, as required by a recently passed by-law — and that they were prepared to go to jail. Police officials said that they would enforce the by-law but explained their failure to do so on the basis that the picket was less than 50, although the press recorded a total of about 100 participants.

freedom marches

The unconquerable spirit of the Vietnamese freedom struggle is demonstrated by a report released by the South Vietnam Liberation Press Agency covering the first nine months of 1963.

Nearly 2,000,000 people were liberated — the freedom fighters destroyed 3,137 strategic hamlets, and liberated 196 villages, 505 hamlets and 9 towns. Enemy troops were compelled to withdraw from 1,256 military strongholds and posts.

Casualties among the American "advisers" of the puppet government were listed as 1,625, more than twice the figure for the entire previous year.

Where the Vietnam freedom fighters get their weapons was indicated by the fact that during the nine months they seized 11,770 pieces from the puppet government forces.

PLENTY FOR GUNS LITTLE FOR HEALTH

"The quiet disaster of our time" is taking place, with the government acting as if it wasn't even there. This is what the Canadian Mental Health Association calls mental illness which, according to its recent publication, one out of every ten Canadians is battling while trying to lead a normal life. Half of all hospital beds in Canada are occupied by patients with mental or emotional illness.

Yet only 5 cents per capita —one million dollars—is spent on research into this problem. The CMHA contrasts this to the 50 million budgeted by Ottawa for research into national defense, and the 45 million in research into atomic energy. And they might well have compared it to the 1.5 billion dollars that Ottawa is preparing to spend on the re-equipment of armed forces to defend the way of life that is the seed-bed for this "disaster."

CMHA officials charitably suggest that the "government does not believe or, more correctly, does not act as though it believes . . . the problem . . . is a serious national threat."

WORKERS Vanguard

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Demonstrations Across Canada Protest U.S. Actions Against North Vietnam

Within hours of reports of the U.S. State Department's first aggressive assault against North Vietnam, and following the subsequent attacks, there were protest demonstrations in major cities across Canada.

Sunday afternoon, February 7, almost 300 mobilized a protest picket in front of the U.S. Consulate in Toronto. Formally initiated by the Association for Peace, it was supported by a wide cross section of militants. "Hands off North Vietnam," "Withdraw U.S. Troops from Vietnam," "Johnson Imperils World Peace," "End, Don't Extend War in Vietnam," were the predominant slogans on the placards. Jacqueline Dineen of the Association for Peace, Patricia Mitchell of the League for Socialist Action, and Diedre Gallagher of the New Democratic Youth, addressed the pickets before they dispersed. The LSA distributed a leaflet exposing the Pearson Government participation in the International Control Commission where it has covered up U.S. intervention against the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

The following day over 300 U of T students picketed the consulate in response to an appeal from an ad hoc committee representing all major U of T student bodies. The U of T press, **The Varsity**, warned the students in a hard-hitting editorial that the U.S. attack "makes total war the more probable" and urged the student body to join the demonstrations. "The war in Vietnam is your war, unless you disavow it," it challenged.

The following Sunday, in spite of the failure of several groups to participate, about 100 again demonstrated. Among the placards were some demanding "Hands Off Vietnam Freedom Struggle," and others exposing Prime Minister Pearsons' apologies for the U.S. aggression. After their picket of the consulate the demonstrators circled the plaza of the new city hall and then gathered at the cenotaph to hear short speeches by Cliff Cotton of the LSA and Art Young of the Young Socialist Forum.

The Sunday Feb. 7th demonstration of 200 in front of the U.S. Consulate in Montreal, initiated by associates of **Révolution Québecoise** and the Montreal Peace Conference, proved to be the first time that all major French-Canadian left forces co-operated in a demonstration against U.S. imperialism with organized groups of the English left.

The Montreal demonstration in response to the second major attack was even larger. U of M students joined when Pierre Vallieres, editor of **Révolution Québecoise**, called for support before a model United Nations meeting. McGill University NDY leader Bill Lennihan, acting as Prime Minister in the model parliament, moved a motion that all M.P.'s join the line. Despite its being ruled out of order by the speaker of the house, an NDP Professor Gifford, many members walked out and joined the line.

Sunday afternoon, Feb. 7, saw 30 pickets circle the Vancouver U.S. Consulate in protest against the airstrike against North Vietnam. It was composed of friends and supporters of the Progressive Workers Movement and the LSA, which also circulated a leaflet. This leaflet was widely distributed to some 1,000 persons attending a meeting addressed by Felix Greene on China, to a CP meeting addressed by Tim Buck, and elsewhere. In the following week there were several demonstrations including one at UBC and a parade organized by the Peace Council.

On Friday February 19th the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa was picketed by a group of Carleton University students and professors.

CUBA'S FIDEL CASTRO, ALGERIA'S VIEWPOINT INTL. SOCIALISTS, ON VIETNAM CRISIS

see pages three and four

World Wide Protests Against U.S. in Vietnam

This Easter witnessed protests across the world against U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Thousands made known their indignation and their fears, throughout Europe, across the United States, and in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and other points in Canada.

The spirits of the 600 Torontonians who marched Saturday afternoon April 17 in protest against Washington's policies in Vietnam were not dampened by a driving, soaking snow. The demonstration moved off from the Ontario government buildings, through the downtown streets, to assemble at city hall for a series of addresses.

The march was formally sponsored by prominent educationalists and religious leaders and the Toronto Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in a sub rosa alliance with the Communist Party which was prepared to accept their slogans and speakers in the conviction that New Democratic Youth, League for Socialist Action supporters and others would too. Efforts to restrict demonstrators to carrying one slogan "End the Vietnam War" were frustrated by the appearance of scores of other placards reading; Bombs and Aid don't Mix, Leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese, Withdraw all U.S. Troops, Protest Canada Fronting for U.S. Brinkmanship, End the Bombing of North Vietnam. While the 4th point in the "official" statement urged "Withdraw All Foreign Troops," the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) statement changed this to read "Withdrawal of American Troops."

The 20,000 English marchers who had trekked from High Wycombe the 30 miles to London were joined by about another 30,000 to jam Trafalgar Square. One of the speakers, Labor Lord Brockway, denounced the British Labor government's support of U.S. policy in Vietnam. "We are disappointed, dismayed and humiliated by it," he said.

The most impressive Easter weekend demonstration took place in Washington itself. Organized by Students for a Democratic Society, it threw up an impressive picket line of almost 20,000 youth around the White House. Prominent among the slogans were the demands that the U.S. Withdraw from Vietnam Now, and that recognition be given to Self-Determination for Vietnam. On the urgings of SDS, many tendencies sold or distributed their own literature. The bus load of demonstrators from Toronto were warmly welcomed on the line.

German, French and Swiss opponents of nuclear weapons, after participating in demonstrations in their own countries staged a united demonstration on April 19 in the city of Basle, site of the famous 1912 Socialist Peace Congress. Sponsored by the Swiss Movement Against Atomic Armament, which has been denounced by the **Neue Zuricher Zietung** as "Trotskyite-Communist" inspired and "anti-militaristic," the demonstration was actively supported by the Basle trade union federations.

The fourth anti-nuclear march in Belgium, which took place on March 28, concerned itself with the war in Vietnam and gave prominence to the slogan "Hands off Vietnam." Between 25 to 27,000 participated, with additional thousands thronging the streets of Brussels cheering them on. The official organizing committee in order to avoid antagonizing the more politically backward participating organizations like the Catholic Workers Youth, banned anti-government and anti-American slogans. But the youthful participants payed no attention.

Thousands of voices joined in a mighty chant of "Let's Get Out of

(See WORLD WIDE—Page 6)

World Wide

(Continued From Page One)

NATO" and "Hands off Vietnam." Hundreds of banners and piacards bore similar slogans. The militant and timely orientation of the march was inspired by the Jeunes Gardes Socialistes, the new left socialist party, and the pro-Peking Communists. The pro-Moscow Communists, while favoring restricting the slogans to "Peace in Vietnam", got carried away in part by the mood of the youth. After the march some hundreds of the young Socialists and pro-Peking Communists demonstrated at the U.S. Embassy.

The Easter March Movement Against Atomic Warfare in Frankfort, Germany, was forbidden by police to take a position "one-sidedly either orally or in writing against one of the parties involved in the Vietnam conflict." It was thought that under such circumstances few would turn out.

But about 1,000, most of them youth turned up. Their placards were directed against the U.S. After the "official" part of the demonstration a few hundred made their way to the U.S. Consulate. Anticipating this the police beat up many and arrested about seventeen demonstrators. Thousands of leaflets protesting the U.S. dirty war were distributed.

Le Peuple editorial outlines view of

ALGERIA ON VIETNAM CRISIS

[The following editorial, indicating the position of the Algerian government in relation to the crisis precipitated by the U.S. attack on North Vietnam, appeared in the April 8 issue of the Algiers daily Le Peuple. The editorial is of unusual interest because of its revelations concerning UN Secretary General U Thant's efforts to open negotiations with Peking and Hanoi, using Algiers as an intermediary. The editorial was entitled "Algeria's contribution toward restoring peace in Vietnam." The translation is by the labor-press service World Outlook.]

* * *

On April 1, the Algerian chargé d'affaires at the UN, Hadj Benabdelkader Azzout, met Mr. Thant, secretary general of the United Nations. Although both of them maintained complete silence about the subject of their discussion, it was believed to be linked with Chou En-lai's trip to Algeria at the time and to the latest developments in the American aggression against Vietnam.

Tuesday [April 6], Mr. Bouattoura, the Algerian ambassador to the United Nations relayed a message from President Ben Bella to the secretary general of the United Nations and confirmed in a press release that Algeria had played the role of intermediary between China and U Thant, who is seeking to arrange a conference of all the interested parties in the problem of Vietnam.

Mr. Bouattoura, who held two conferences with the UN secretary general before leaving for Algeria, refused to reveal any details about the conferences.

President Ben Bella's message to the secretary general of the United Nations provided particularly important clarifications and specifications on the position of People's China with regard to the war being conducted by the USA against the Vietnamese people and on the means by which this conflict might be settled. The press and journalists have speculated considerably about the nature of President Ben Bella's message. Much of this lacks any foundation and some of it is obviously inspired by subjective considerations. As in the case of the firm and energetic position adopted by the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] during the national revolution [in Algeria], the government of People's China holds that the basic problem in Vietnam is clear and unmistakable.

In Vietnam a colonial war is being waged by the USA against a people who are seeking only to exercise their right to political and economic independence.

If the USA really wants to bring the war to an end, only one road is open: to negotiate with the Vietnamese revolutionists who are fighting arms in hand.

No other power and no other country has any right to negotiate their fate except the Vietnamese people themselves.

Observers at the United Nations believe that Mr. Thant asked Mr. Bouattoura, before leaving for Algiers, to talk with the Chinese prime minister, to sound out what possibilities for success there might be in his taking a trip to the Far East, particularly to Peking and Hanoi.

But it was felt that it would be useless for the secretary general of the United Nations to undertake a trip to Peking and Hanoi. Because the solution to the problem of Vietnam is not to be found in either Peking or Hanoi but in Saigon; that is, between the Vietnamese people represented by the NLF [National Liberation Front, called "Viet Cong" for propaganda purposes by U.S. government and press] and the imperialist power combatting them.

The Vietnamese people have the right to ask, as a precondition, that their rights be recognized, that their revolutionary leaders be recognized as their representatives, and that the colonial nature of the problem and its meaning be recognized, and that any settlement of the war must necessarily be made with them.

The fact that revolutionary Algeria was chosen by the secretary general and People's China to undertake a responsibility that no other country of the third world was in position to assume, is to be noted.

Just as the Algerian people made recognition of their right to self-determination a condition sine qua non [indispensable] before any negotiations with France, so the Vietnamese have the right to do the same with the USA. It is now up to the USA to accept this and to enter into direct negotiations with the genuine representatives of the Vietnamese people, that is, the NLF.

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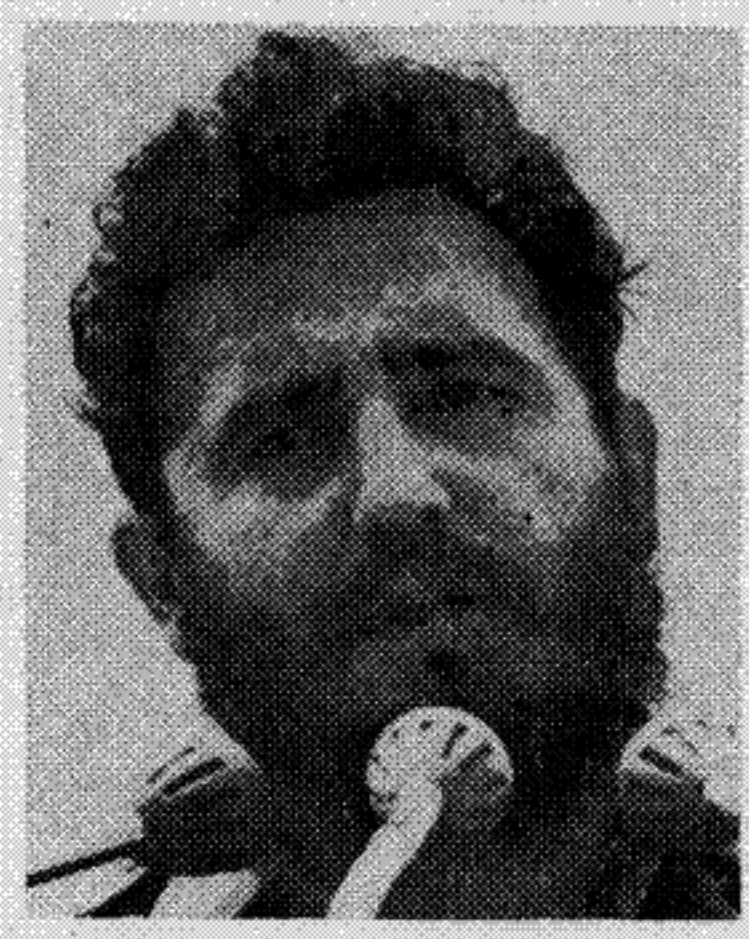
WORKERS Vanguard

Cuba's Castro Appeals For Unity Against U.S. Assault In Vietnam

The major portion of the text of a speech by Cuba's Prime Minister Fidel Castro. It was delivered at the University of Havana on March 13 at a meeting commemorating the unsuccessful student attack on Batista's Presidential Palace and the martyrdom of Jose Antonio Echeverria.



Fidel Castro

The Revolution has powerful enemies, and in first place, one powerful enemy, Yankee imperialism. This enemy threatens us and will threaten us for some time to come. This enemy will not easily resign itself—although it has no alternative—to the revolutionary successes of our people. This enemy, not here, but thousands of miles from here, is attacking other countries as it is criminally attacking the people of North Viet Nam and the revolutionary people of South Viet Nam.

This enemy is intervening in the Congo. It sends its ships, its marines and its planes to any corner of the world. It takes advantage of divisions among the revolutionaries, of the lamentable divisions that exist in the socialist camp. Unfortunately they calculate, analyze, and take advantage of everything than can weaken the revolutionary front.

That is to say that circumstances exist that involve dangers for us all, for us and for other nations in other parts of the world that fight for their independence and freedom. Dangers are not lacking.

I am not going to speak at length about the problems related to the differences and divisions in the socialist camp. We don't even know when we may have to speak of this at length, because the problem is not to speak for the sake of speaking; the problem is to speak in order to say something, the problem now is to speak when, by speaking or talking or saying something, there is a positive and useful result and not a result that is positive and useful only to imperialism and the enemies of the peoples.

We'd rather not have to face such bitter circumstances. As far as talk is concerned, enough and more than enough has been said already. As far as division is concerned, unfortunately, enough and more than is necessary has been said, more than suits the interests of the peoples and what, unfortunately, is useful to the interests of the enemies of the peoples.

But for us, small countries, that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Viet Nam and Cuba, we have enough instinct to see with serenity and to understand that these divisions and differences that weaken the strength of the socialist camp hurt no one more than us who are in special situations: here, ninety miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes.

Here it's not a question of analyzing the problems under dispute theoretically or philosophically, but of recognizing the great truth: that in the face of an enemy that attacks, in the face of an enemy that becomes more and more aggressive, there is no justification for division; division doesn't make sense, there is no reason for division.

And at any time in history, at any period of mankind, since the first revolutionary appeared in the world, since revolutions became social phenomena in which the masses acted instinctively, until the time revolutions were made consciously, became tasks and phenomena fully understood by the people,—which took place when Marxism arose—division in the face of the enemy was never a correct strategy, it was never revolutionary strategy, was never intelligent strategy.

And in this revolutionary process we have all from the beginning, been educated in the idea that everything that divides, weakens, that everything that separates us, is bad; is bad for our people and good for imperialism.

And the mass of our people understood the need for unity from the first moment and unity became an essential question for the revolution, unity became the cry of the masses, unity became a slogan of the whole people.

And we ask ourselves whether imperialism has disappeared; we ask ourselves if the imperialists are not attacking North Viet Nam; we ask ourselves whether in North Viet Nam men and women of the people are not dying.

And who can be made to think or to believe that division is proper or useful? Perhaps it's not seen that the imperialists are advancing in North Viet Nam? Perhaps it's not seen that the tactic the imperialists are following there is to smash the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam, attacking North Viet Nam first under the pretext of the attacks being in reprisal, later arrogating to themselves the right to attack whenever they want to, and continuing to use masses of planes against the fighters of South Viet Nam?

What is the situation at this moment? The imperialists are talking about a naval blockade, landing their marines in South Viet Nam, sending aircraft carriers, mobilizing masses of planes to smash the revolutionary movement in South Viet Nam; to attack, with every available means of war, the guerrillas in South Viet Nam, reserving the right to attack North Viet Nam whenever it seems best to them, carrying on this kind of aerial war, without any sacrifice on their part, bombing with hundreds of planes and even sending their helicopters to rescue the pilots of the downed planes.

Doubtless the imperialists want a comfortable kind of struggle! Doubtless the imperialists want a kind of war with only industrial losses! That is—"so many planes lost". Doubtless the peoples of South Viet Nam and of North Viet Nam suffer all this! And suffer it in their own flesh because there are men and women there who die, in South Viet Nam and in North Viet Nam, victims of the US straffing and victims of the US bombing.

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And they don't hesitate in the least to declare that they propose to continue all that because even the attacks on North Viet Nam have not had the effect of overcoming the divisions within the socialist family. And who doubts that this division encourages the imperialists? Who doubts that to face the enemy with a united front would make them hesitate, make them pause and think before launching their adventurous attacks and their barefaced intervention in that part of the world? Who is to be convinced of this? With what reason, with what logic? And who benefit from this? The imperialists! And who are the victims? The Vietnamese! And what suffers? The prestige of socialism, the prestige of the international communist movement, of the international revolutionary movement! And this truly hurts us! Because for us the liberation movement is not a demogogic word but a slogan that we have always felt deeply!

Because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the navel of the world; because we are a small country that does not aspire to become the revolutionary centre of the world. And when we speak of these problems, we speak with absolute sincerity and we speak disinterestedly. We did not win revolutionary power in bourgeois elections but fighting weapons in hand; we speak in the name of a people who for six years irrevocably and unhesitatingly resisted the ambushes and the threats of imperialism.

We speak in the name of a people who for the sake of the strength of the revolutionary movement, for the sake of the strength of the socialist camp, for the sake of the firmness and the determination to defend the revolution against the imperialists, did not hesitate. A people who did not hesitate to risk the danger of thermonuclear war, of a nuclear attack, when in our country and on our territory — with the full and absolute right that we have never abjured, an absolutely legitimate act that we will never regret—we agreed to the installation of thermonuclear strategic missiles on our territory. And, not only did we agree that they should be brought here but we disagreed that they should be taken away. And I think that this is no secret for anyone.

We are a country and a nation in whose name I speak that receives no Yankee credits, or Food for Peace, and we haven't the slightest relation with the imperialists. That is, that in the matter of revolutionary conviction and sincerity no one taught us anything, no one taught us anything, just as no one taught our liberators of 1895 and 1868, the path of independence and of dignity. We are the people of the First and Second Declarations of Havana which we didn't copy from any document but which were the pure expression of the spirit of our people, deeply revolutionary and highly internationalist.

As this has been the feeling and the thinking of our revolution, proved as often as was necessary, proved without hesitation of any kind, without yielding in any way, without contradictions of any type, we have the right to ask — as many other peoples must ask — who benefits from these disagreements if not our enemies?

And of course we have full right, the full and absolute right, that I don't think anyone will dare to question, to proscribe such dissensions and such Byzantine battles from our country and our people.

And it should be known that it is our Party who directs the propaganda here, that it is our Party who gives guidance here, that this is a question that comes under our jurisdiction! And if we don't want the apple of discord to come here, because we simply don't want it here, then no-one can smuggle it in. Our enemies, our only enemies, are the Yankee imperialists. Our only insuperable contradiction is with Yankee imperialism. The only enemy against whom we are ready to break our lances, is imperialism.

As far as anything else is concerned, we don't understand any other language, we don't understand the language of division. Before the concrete case of a country attacked by imperialism, like Viet Nam, we have one position. We don't act, as perhaps some think, as perhaps above all the imperialists think, on the basis of "when you see your neighbor's house on fire, you throw water on your own roof"—in reality, the way we act is, when we see our neighbor's house on fire, we want to share this difficulty.

We are not people to be frightened by these events; rather we are kindled to action by them. And we have one position. We are in favor of giving Viet Nam all the aid that may be necessary, we are in favor of this aid being arms and men, we are in favor of the socialist camp running the risks that may be necessary for Viet Nam.

We are quite aware of the fact that in case of any serious international complication we will be one of the first targets of imperialism, but this does not worry us and has never worried us. And we don't keep quiet or act like simpletons in order that our lives be spared.

This is, in all frankness and all sincerity, our reasoned, dispassionate stand, emanating from our legitimate and inviolable right to take measures and to act in the way we believe most correct and most revolutionary and let no one harbor the illusion that they can give us lessons on revolution.

I hope that errors of underestimation be not made, ignoring the peculiarities of our people, because Yankee imperialism has committed lots of errors of this kind. One of its characteristics was disdain for others, disdain for and underestimation of small nations. And imperialism has committed great colossal errors of underestimation in respect to our revolutionary people. It would be regrettable if others committed similar errors. Our sincere policy has been, and is that of uniting, because we are not and will never be satellites of anyone. And in this whole problem we have taken a very dispassionate very honest and very sincere position . . .

Manifesto of the Fourth International

AID THE VIETNAM REVOLUTION!

[The following is the text of a manifesto issued in Paris by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world-wide organization of revolutionary socialists founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky.]

Each day the aims of the criminal aggression of American imperialism against the Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam become clearer.

For a time it was claimed that "reprisals" were being carried out for raids by the South Vietnamese freedom fighters on American military bases implanted in their country. This pretext has now been abandoned. American planes are continuing to bomb towns, villages and ports in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. American marines have now been committed for the first time as ground troops against the South Vietnam freedom fighters. The U.S. Seventh Fleet is being readied for deployment against the shores of North Vietnam in order to blockade its ports and cut off its coastal shipping.

Thus the Pentagon's blueprint for extending the conflict is being methodically carried out, as is openly proclaimed in the American press. The aim is to progressively throw the full weight of American imperialism into the balance in hope of halting the development of the Vietnamese revolution.

It is of little moment whether the State Department is simultaneously pursuing a "secret" design to compel the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to "negotiate"; for Washington refuses to recognize the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front as the legitimate representative of the South Vietnamese people. Washington is brandishing over both the freedom fighters of South Vietnam and the government of North Vietnam its crushing military superiority and the threat of plunging the world into a nuclear conflict; and it has repeatedly made clear that the only basis it considers "acceptable" for negotiation is the "withdrawal" of the freedom fighters from the territory of their own country.

It is barefaced imperialist propaganda worthy of a Goebbels to maintain that the partisans of the National Liberation Front are "foreign troops" and not genuine revolutionists nurtured by the South Vietnamese people themselves, the best representatives of the peasants and workers who rose in revolt against the landlords and comprador bourgeoisie and their policy of supporting—with the aid of the money and guns of a foreign power — the bloody dictatorship of the Diems and the not less bloody dictatorship of the generals who succeeded them!

As if a revolution mounted by the broad mass of the people, which has torn nine-tenths of its arms from the hands of the foe, could be told to "play dead" or "give up" at a signal from Hanoi, Peking, Moscow or anywhere else!

Most serious of all in this increasingly dangerous situation is the apathy which the leaderships of the principal workers' states display in face of the step-by-step "escalation" of U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia.

Up to now the Kremlin officials and the Communist Party leaderships largely under their influence or control have deplored the American aggressions as a "serious threat to the consolidation of peace." What "consolidation"? What "peace"? The only peace to be found through consolidation of the military aggression and counter-revolutionary actions of imperialism is the peace of the grave and slavery. The peoples of the world today will never acquiesce, no matter what the refusal costs them.

This is a great new fact in world reality which everyone who wants peace must take as basic in working out an international policy aimed at averting World War III and a nuclear holocaust.

The government of the People's Republic of China appears at the moment to be most concerned about pinning on Moscow the blame for a possible defeat of the revolution in Vietnam. But unless Peking itself acts, its course can be interpreted as "keeping hands off" while the Pentagon moves ahead. The shouting at Moscow would then look like nothing but phrasemongering designed to cover up a betrayal. No matter how correct Peking's criticisms of Moscow may be, it has its own responsibilities in the situation, including the defense of the new China.

The government of the People's Republic of China would do better to offer Khrushchev's heirs a joint public commitment to protect the common interests of the two workers' states, and those of the socialist revolution, in Southeast Asia. Then let the workers of the world judge the response!

There are some who have been taken in by the propaganda of American imperialism which aims at convincing its current and prospective victims that unless the Pentagon militarists are meekly granted what they want, then you can expect them to start a nuclear war, even if it means the utter destruction of the United States.

How little these easily impressed "experts" understand the real nature of the Washington "hawks"; or, more properly, "vultures." One of the reasons their "escalation" is proceeding step by step is to carefully test the resistance so as to be able to stop or even retreat in case it proves tougher than expected. Instead of being "provoked" into a nuclear answer if they receive an effective reply to their provocation, the American militarists will at once reassess the situation.

Grave Danger

But if the resistance proves softer than expected, then these same militarists will proceed more brazenly than before. Precisely in this lies one of the gravest dangers. The emboldened White House and Pentagon can become caught up in a course in which their deepening commitment makes retreat increasingly difficult. This could be the "oversight," the "accident," that takes them over the brink into World War III.

The only language that imperialism understands and respects is action sufficient for it to sense the real forces it is up against. Wrathful or tearful verbal protests only arouse contempt among these rulers of the capitalist world. They take mere shouts and polite or nasty letters as signs that it is safe to proceed according to plan. They become more and more aggressive since their aggression has cost them nothing; in fact, "paying off" from their limited point of view.

The only way to block the "escalation" and to cut it short before it is too late, is to show the imperialists on the scene itself that their course is much more

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Left Unity in Japan

Japan's Socialists and Communists will join forces in the face of the threats posed by U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Tomomi Narita, secretary general of the Socialist Party, told the press his own party could not hope to settle the developing crisis in Asia and Japan alone. April 26 saw the most powerful anti-U.S. demonstration in Tokyo since 1960, and bigger ones are predicted for May Day.

dangerous than they had believed, that their calculations are wrong, and that their military aggression did not pay off and promises still worse if continued.

Yankee imperialism is not in a desperate impasse at the moment. It is not caught up in a situation in which it feels there is no way out, even temporarily, except to risk suicide. Its military and economic strength stand at the greatest height in history. Prosperity reigns in the United States. Even if the capitalists are willing to risk from 70,000,000 to 140,000,000 Americans in a nuclear conflict, why should they risk their present profits, their present comforts and the pleasure of their latest gadgets?

Their course in Vietnam is not the product of hopeless despair, but the consequence of cold and deliberate calculation in which they evaluate the risks as being low and in any case ascertainable as they proceed. They are banking on the weakness of the leadership of the workers' states, particularly the leadership of the Soviet Union. They are counting on the divisions, especially the division on the governmental level between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

They expect all this to hinder and block the response that should have normally been expected to their monstrous decision to widen their intervention in the civil war in South Vietnam into a war against North Vietnam, and — if this proves workable—into a crippling military thrust against the People's Republic of China. If they should run into a vigorous reaction at the very beginning, then the results of their test probe would be read in Washington as a signal to reconsider. The elementary needs of self-defense would call for retreat from a palpably suicidal adventure.

This is what Fidel Castro obviously referred to in his speech of March 3, when he said: "We must show the imperialists that we are not afraid of them. When you don't resist them, they continue further; but when you resist them, they stop."

This is what the Afro-Asian students and the handful of Moscow students who joined them meant in their demonstration before the American embassy in Moscow, protesting against the aggression in North Vietnam, when they shouted at the Kremlin authorities who used violence on them: "Traitors! You've sold out to the imperialists!"

Fate of Revolution

This is what the vanguard of the masses in many countries indicated they wanted as they joined in demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

It is not only the fate of this revolution that is involved but the fate of the whole colonial revolution. One of the things which Yankee imperialism is seeking to establish in Vietnam is a precedent for something new — its "right" to intervene with bombs, napalm and ground troops whenever it pleases anywhere in the world.

It is seeking to establish American imperialism as the final law, the ultimate disposer of the destinies of all countries and all mankind. It proposes to nail down its "supreme right" to suppress revolutions by all means wherever they flare up or wherever they are incipient on the globe, from Brazil to the Congo to Vietnam!

If suppression of the colonial revolution is the immediate aim of this Johnson "doctrine," the workers' states are the ultimate target — and this includes the Soviet Union. Should American imperialism get away with wiping out villages and towns of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with bombs and jellied gasoline, its appetite will increase ravenously for a similar test of the People's Republic of China.

This can be seen from certain propaganda themes already appearing in the big daily newspapers of the U.S., such as the advisability of striking "before China gets a nuclear arsenal," and the "common interests" of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in "containing" revolutionary China. The final target is the Soviet Union. Let it be recalled that Hitler had "common interests" with Stalin in the period when he was preparing his invasion of the Soviet Union.

To block the dangerous "escalation" initiated by Johnson in Southeast Asia, all possible steps must be taken at once to strengthen the revolution in South Vietnam and to build up the defenses of North Vietnam. This requires immediate material aid on a large scale and the opening of a campaign of effective revolutionary socialist propaganda directed at the American forces. Let the example of the early days of the first workers' state be recalled, when Lenin and Trotsky appealed directly to the troops sent against them. The Bolshevik leaflets calling for fraternization with the revolution did as much to weaken the invading imperialist forces as the brilliant military defense put up by the newly formed Red Army.

Let the American imperialists today learn the true danger they are running in advancing on the mainland of Asia. On the other hand, to take the course of capitulating to blackmail only encourages the warmongers, invites further extension of the military adventure and increases the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

It is particularly urgent that the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China close ranks before the common danger. This does not mean giving up the ideological and political differences; these can be continued and threshed out on a party level. But let the governments close ranks!

A joint statement should be issued clearly and solemnly warning imperialism of the fundamental solidarity of the two countries and their common interest in defending their planned economies and other revolutionary gains against the threat that has now been raised against them in the clearest form through the bombing of North Vietnam and the deepening military involvement of American imperialism on the mainland of Asia.

It is equally urgent for both governments to join in a clear declaration of intention to protect both North Vietnam and the revolution in South Vietnam and to show by action in the most concrete way that this defense has begun, will be improved as rapidly as possible and will be carried through to the end with genuinely Leninist determination.

And in every country it is urgent that the workers, the youth, the students, the women should show by the thousands and the millions their concern about the criminal aggression of American imperialism. Let them call HALT! to Johnson through demonstrations of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and their revolution.

Down with imperialism and its policy of blood and lies!

Long live the international solidarity of the working class with the beleaguered Vietnamese revolution and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the world socialist revolution, the only means of definitively freeing humanity from the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust!

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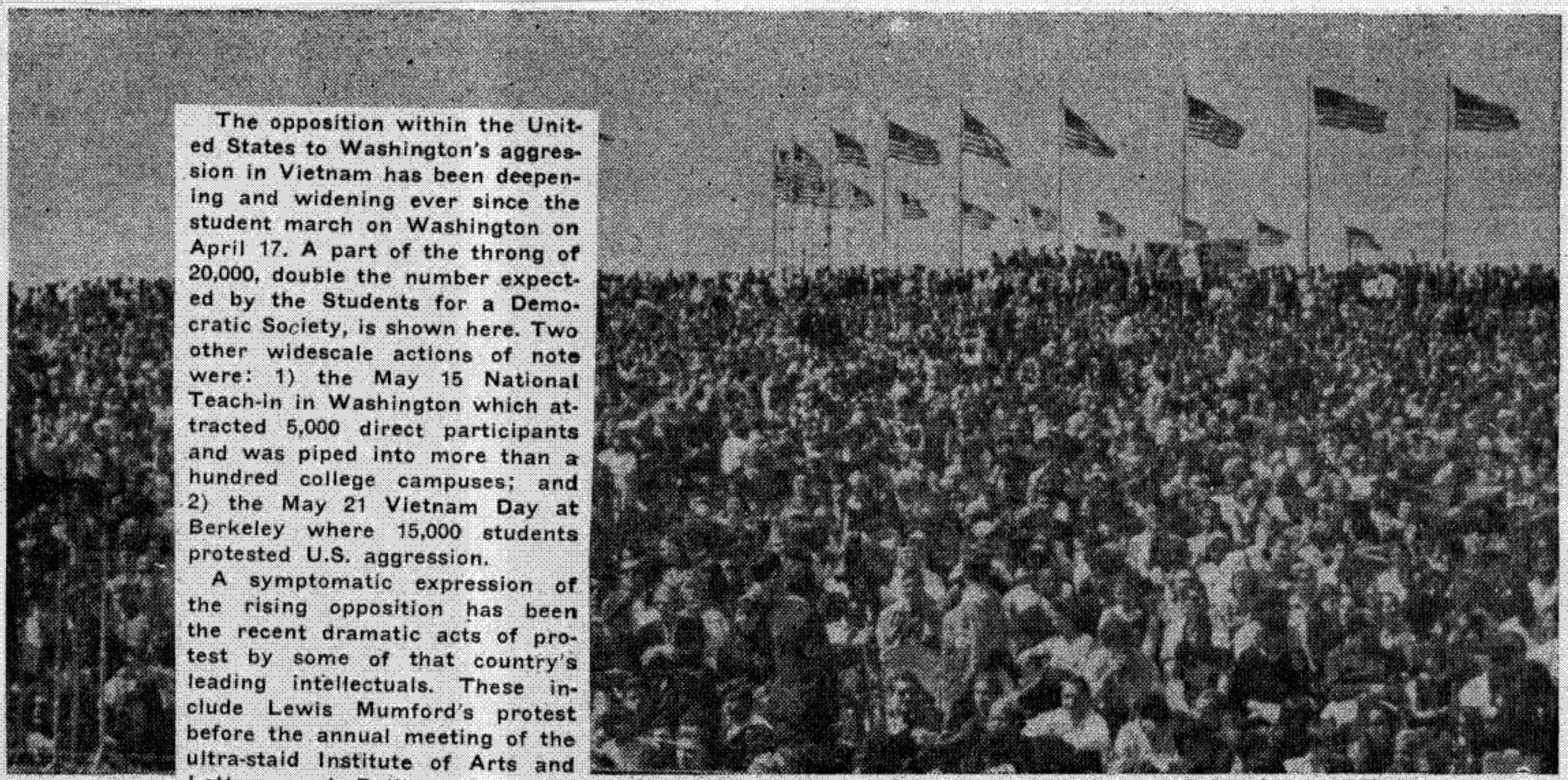

The opposition within the United States to Washington's aggression in Vietnam has been deepening and widening ever since the student march on Washington on April 17. A part of the throng of 20,000, double the number expected by the Students for a Democratic Society, is shown here. Two other widescale actions of note were: 1) the May 15 National Teach-in in Washington which attracted 5,000 direct participants and was piped into more than a hundred college campuses; and 2) the May 21 Vietnam Day at Berkeley where 15,000 students protested U.S. aggression.

A symptomatic expression of the rising opposition has been the recent dramatic acts of protest by some of that country's leading intellectuals. These include Lewis Mumford's protest before the annual meeting of the ultra-staid Institute of Arts and Letters, and Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Robert Lowell's rejection of an invitation to a White House "arts festival."

WORKERS Vanguard

#110 - Mid-July 1965

Stop War in Vietnam! Shout NDP Delegates Outside US Consulate

As U.S. President Johnson declared his government's intention to step-up its murderous aggression in Vietnam, and Pentagon chieftans recommended an increase of U.S. forces there to 179,000 by the end of the year, over 150 delegates to the third federal New Democratic Party convention in Toronto voiced their firm opposition.

On Wednesday noon, displaying their red delegates badges, they rallied outside the convention hall which that morning saw the overwhelming approval of resolutions condemning U.S. aggression both in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, to march through jammed downtown streets onto the U.S. Consulate.

Among the placards, many of which quoted party leader Douglas' statement that the Vietnamese should be allowed to freely decide their own government, were a number that spelled this out in the words: "WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM."

M.P. H. W. Herridge, who had announced the demonstration on the floor of the convention earlier, spoke from the steps of the consulate. As he declared that the pickets were there on behalf of all mankind consulate officials attempted to stop him. This roused such a protest that they hurriedly retreated inside.

The demonstrators no doubt clearly and firmly expressed not only the mounting concern through NDP ranks but throughout ever-widening layers of the Canadian population. The party leadership, as the press noted, were absent.

The demonstration was militant and based largely on the more youthful delegates. It would seem certain that their action will stimulate the party's ranks and secondary leadership into more agressively intervening against the Ottawa-backed adventure of the U.S. ruling class.

It was not until May 28 that the party leadership had anything to say on the ever more critical situation developing in Vietnam. Until then, as the U.S. continued to pour troops in, removing the mask of advisor to a sovereign government to take over completely and extend its operations through the north up to the Chinese border, the NDP parliamentary caucus submitted to the procedure that the government imposed on the house. Instead of going to the people through mass

(See Page 2 — NDP)

Prairie Teach-in Protests Servility of Ottawa to U.S.

REGINA—Projected as an attempt to arrive at an understanding of the Pearson government's policy on Vietnam, Canada's first community teach-in was nonetheless a protest against its servile support of U.S. aggression.

The teach-in commenced at 3 p.m. Wednesday, July 1 and continued non-stop for 15 hours during which 14 speakers contributed and answered hundreds of questions. Approximately 1,000 persons attended sections. The largest audience at one time was about 500.

The teach-in was unique in that the community outside the university was involved. Among the 14 speakers were former CCF-NDP Saskatchewan Premier W. S. Lloyd, Therese Casgrain of the Voice of Women, Al Gleave, president of the Canadian Farmers Union, Tim Buck of the Communist Party, Alvin Hamilton, minister of agriculture in the last Tory government, Hugh Campbell a former member of the International Control Commission in Vietnam. The decision by the Liberals not to send a speaker at the last moment caused Professor Smythe to read a statement by External Affairs Minister Paul Martin given in March.

Dr. Vo Thann Minh, a Buddhist scholar and former professor at Saigon, Hue and Vinh university in Viet Nam, described the war as "very, very dangerous and in danger of escalating to the point where it would be dangerous for all humanity." He ridiculed the idea that North and South Vietnam were two countries and that China was a threat to their independence. When asked if there was any peace movement in Viet Nam, Dr. Vo said he knew of three persons who wanted to start a movement. When discovered by the Saigon government they were seized and dropped by parachute into North Viet Nam so they would be killed as invaders.

WORKERS Vanguard

A—Workers Vanguard, Mid-August 1965

The Root Causes of the War in Vietnam

The following article is reproduced from the August 9, 1965 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly, The Militant. It is an analysis in depth of what lies behind the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Accompanying it was a front page article projecting what the Militant's editors consider to be the immediate, essential tasks confronting the rising forces of opposition to Johnson's dirty war, particularly the Assembly of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace in Vietnam, being held in Washington at the time.

The Militant urged the anti-war movement to: 1) Demand that U.S. troops be withdrawn from Vietnam now; 2) Widen its base from the campus into the Negro and civil rights organizations and the trade unions; 3) Fight the "communist conspiracy" lie used by the government to justify its war in Vietnam, and oppose any exclusion of communists and socialists from its ranks to make clear its stand against McCarthyism; 4) Examine the nature of the war; and 5) Move in the direction of organizing a Third Continental Congress.

The previous two congresses held during the great American Revolution assembled in protest against the fact that the peoples of the 13 colonies were not represented in London. The Third Continental Congress would raise the idea that the people, not a handful of capitalist politicians, have the right and should have the power to determine U.S. policy toward Vietnam. The Editors.

By Fred Halstead

One of the most important aspects of the current discussion within the antiwar movement deals with the causes of war, and in particular the causes of the war in Vietnam. It is the purpose of this article to present a sketch of the Marxist view of this question, the view that the capitalist system is the root cause of major war in modern times. (Marxists never claimed capitalism was the only cause of all armed clashes in all times and situations. This is a straw man often used by those interested in dismissing the Marxist analysis without really dealing with it.)

In an article entitled "What Should the Peace Movement Do?" in the June 28 **I. F. Stone's Weekly**, the editor makes the following statement: "If the cause of world peace depends on the overthrow of American capitalism there isn't much hope for the world." Marxists would put it the other way around: If the cause of world peace depends on maintaining American capitalism, there is no hope for the world because capitalism contains within itself an inexorable tendency toward war.

This is not to say that the temporary settlement of any particular war crisis must wait on a socialist revolution in this country. But it does mean that the capitalist rulers of the U.S. cannot be peaceful, that they can be forced to hold off their war drive only by powerful forces opposed to them, and that as long as the system remains, new crises and threats to world peace will continue to occur.

Just what are the factors involved in this war drive inherent in the capitalist or "free enterprise" system? For one thing, there is a tendency for each individual capitalist enterprise to expand. Competition forces each enterprise to take advantage of the benefits of organization and technology only possible on a larger scale. The smaller enterprises must sooner or later consolidate or grow to keep up with the efficiency of the larger ones. It is a question of expand or go out of business, absorb or be absorbed.

This situation, which flows quite naturally from small capitalist competition and honest exchange in commerce, inevitably leads to the opposite — syndicates, trusts, cartels and other monopoly forms. (Antitrust laws are always relatively ineffective.) It also leads to the dependence of industry on the banking system which alone is capable of bringing under centralized control the wealth of the whole society, and providing to private enterprises the huge amounts of capital necessary to keep up with the revolutions in technology and organization.

These monopolies introduce certain planning of production and "socialization" within their enterprises, but their highest purpose is still private, not social — that is, to make the greatest profits possible for their particular private owners. This monopoly capitalism, or finance capitalism, is very profitable since it violates the laws of free competition, setting prices, cornering sources of raw materials and markets, cheating suppliers and consumers, and so on. But it does not eliminate competition altogether. Blind competition is transferred to a higher level — competition between monopolies, between financial oligarchies — and it becomes international in character.

This is a very serious matter, because by the time this stage is reached — and it was reached in the major capitalist countries before World War I — the growth of monopoly has led to the domination of the state by the financial oligarchies. They accomplish this through all the tremendous powers of persuasion, control and corruption possible with great private wealth.

Imperialist Government

When the capitalist financial oligarchies have seized control of the politics of the country, they use the government to secure and improve their position vis-à-vis their competition overseas, to assist them in obtaining, securing and holding their foreign profits, markets, colonies and spheres of influence. This is the stage of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, in which the underdeveloped areas of the world are considered fair game for the imperialist armies, diplomats and gunboats.

When these interests clash with those of other financial oligarchies which have seized control of their governments, the result is inter-imperialist war, world war for a redivision of spheres of influence, of spheres of monopoly control. This occurred in 1914-1918 and 1939-1945.

Workers Exploited

This is, of course, another side to this whole process — the social side — which also contributes to the drive toward war. The individual private enterprise makes profits by exploiting labor power, by hiring workers for less money than the value they produce. In order to grow, the enterprise must reinvest a considerable part of this surplus value, it must enlarge the scale of production. In social or human terms, it must tend to exploit more workers. This process is uneven, but in the long run, the expansion of capitalism — even with automation — involves the expansion of the working class, those who work for wages whether they be laborers or engineers.

It also involves the tendency to eliminate the smaller capitalists

→p.2

Vietnam Sidelight

U.S. DEFENCE SPENDING INCREASE GOOD FOR ECONOMY

by Edwin L. Dale Jr.
New York Times Service

WASHINGON — Nobody likes the war in Vietnam. But in the view of some of the leading figures in the Government, the increases imposed by the war on the nation's military effort could mean more good than harm for the U.S. economy.

So commenced an article that was syndicated in major dailies across the country on August 10. The article pointed up the fears being expressed in U.S. government and financial circles that (1) there would be increased unemployment due to the growth in the labor force and (2) that the continued expansion in plant and equipment had already outrun demand. But, the article summed up the situation, "Now, thanks to the efforts of the Viet Cong, such a stimulus has come . . . the outlook is for continued vigorous expansion with some possible price increases . . ."

←p.1

and the individuals who work for themselves, such as family farmers, individual artisans, corner storekeepers, and so on, who simply can't compete with big monopoly enterprises.

Boom and Bust

In Marx's time, this had already produced a huge army of workers only part of whom were employed full time, the rest being employed and unemployed as the system went through cycles of boom and depression.

Just before the epoch of imperialism, in each major capitalist country there was a huge army of poor workers on the one hand, and increasing amounts of surplus capital in the hands of the financial oligarchies on the other. Under the capitalist system, this wealth could not simply be redistributed, because that wouldn't be profitable for the private owners. But the army of workers was growing restless, accepting socialist ideas and threatening to overthrow the system as the social crisis increased.

Imperialism helped the capitalists alleviate both these conditions. They used their surplus capital profitably by exporting it to areas under their imperialist control, and they tended at the same time to export their own social crisis. This last effect was aided in good part by the capitalists granting concessions to certain privileged workers and union bureaucrats at home out of the supermonopoly profits they gleaned by exploiting the underdeveloped countries.

This created terrible social privations and eventually revolutions in the colonial and semicolonial world, and some of these areas, such as China and Cuba, have been removed completely from the area open for imperialist exploitation. (It is important to note that these revolutions did not cut off value-for-value trade with capitalist nations, but they did cut off the cheating, exploiting relationships which imperialists impose on their spheres of influence in the underdeveloped areas.) The Russian Revolution of 1917 had already cut off another huge area from imperialist penetration.

Top Dog

At the end of World War II, the U.S. emerged as top dog among the imperialist countries and has so far been able to dominate and regulate the rivalries between them to a considerable extent. But all of the tendencies toward expansion sketched above still operate and under U.S. leadership, they have been directed toward rolling back the colonial revolutions and recapturing the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc for imperialist economic expansion and exploitation.

This is the source of the cold war. It is the fundamental drive of U.S. aggression in the present world. And it is a drive which the noncapitalist countries, for all their difficulties and faults, do not have within their economies. That is why the United States has troops and bases on every continent, in dozens of foreign countries, ringing the Sino-Soviet bloc, while Russia and China have no bases outside their own countries and countries immediately on their borders. (The Cuban missile sites, supplied by the Russians to deter a U.S. invasion which the U.S. made no bones about planning, were the single exception.)

Military Aggression

The military posture of the U.S. in the past 20 years has been aggressive, while that of the Soviet Union and China has been defensive, at the most attempting to secure buffer zones around their own borders. Within these buffer countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union did take certain unfair economic advantage — much more so at the beginning and much less so, if at all, recently. This was a piece of bureaucratic arrogance and chauvinism and raised the anger and opposition of the local inhabitants — and especially of the best communists — in the areas affected. But it was fundamentally different from capitalist imperialism. It did not flow from irreversible drive to economic expansion into foreign territory, and the health of the Soviet economy did no depend upon it.

Countries with a planned economy have no surplus of capital — quite the contrary they are always short of it — since they can always invest to good effect in their own territory. And they can always distribute surplus commodities within their own countries by administrative means, since they are public property. Such countries are as willing to sell basic plants to a backward country as they are to sell finished products, on a dollar-for-dollar basis. This is not true of U.S. private enterprise, which always seeks a monopoly advantage, wants control over the enterprises it builds overseas, and tends to keep the underdeveloped areas in the position of suppliers of raw materials.

Large Investments

The argument is sometimes raised that the U.S. has relatively few investments at present in South Vietnam, so it couldn't be imperialist reasons that drive it to war there. For one thing, the U.S. does have huge investments in other areas of Southeast Asia, and for another, imperialists don't go to war simply to protect existing investments, but also to secure areas for future expansion.

One of the most ardent supporters of President Johnson's policies in Vietnam, Senator McGee of Wyoming, blurted out the truth in a speech before the Senate last Feb. 24. He said:

"It is my judgment that the area of Indochina, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, is such a rich enough empire in its total context, with tin, rubber, oil, rice and a number of other important resources, that it makes a difference to the powers of the world what happens to that segment of resources potential . . . It was worth a war on the part of Japan. The reason she made war in the Pacific was to make this area a part of the Japanese empire. So also was it worth a war by the British, by the French, by the Dutch, and the Portuguese in earlier colonial times . . .

Wish for Allies

"Needless to say, we all would wish that we had allies beside us and that the Vietnamese were in better order south of the 17th parallel than they are, and that they had the will to go on, and that sort of thing; but I believe this is relatively irrelevant. The real point is once again the old political power struggle that takes place in the wake of any great war. This has been going on since the end of World War II."

The issue of "communism" really has very little to do with the capitalist drive toward war. If there had been no Russian or Chinese revolutions, the factors sketched above would still be operating and the U.S. capitalists would still be involved in one imperialist adventure after the other. Very likely, they would be involved in a slaughter right where they are now, in Southeast Asia, for they have already sent U.S. boys to die in two wars — the Spanish American and World War II — with the "right" to exploit that area as a chief object.

That is why it is necessary for the antiwar forces to build a movement independent of the capitalists. To end the threat of war, the movement must sooner or later overcome the political power of American capitalism, by organizing those forces — Marxists call them the working class — who are capable of developing even greater power and who would lead a better life if capitalism were replaced by socialism. Nobody ever said it would be easy, but human survival depends upon it.

A Workers' World — or None!

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 10 No. 4 (112) Mid-September, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

Call for Action Against War in Vietnam Oct. 15-16

"Make October 15-16 world-wide days of protest . . ." is the stirring appeal issued by the Vietnam Day Committee of Berkeley, California. VDC is an outgrowth of the massive Vietnam teach-in held on the University of California Berkeley campus last May 21-22 which attracted some 20,-30,000 people. It is the international headquarters and one of the 33 member groups of the National Committee to End the War in Vietnam. It is composed of students, faculty and residents of the San Francisco Bay area opposed to the U.S. State Department intervention in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and wherever else it may occur.

Addressing itself to people throughout the world, the committee's declaration stresses the need to "move beyond single demonstrations and rallies to one massive internationally co-ordinated action . . . We ask that organizations throughout the world take the most militant and dramatic actions campatible with local conditions on October 16th . . . the full impact of world opinion can best be brought to bear against the policy of the American government by simultaneous protest action on October 16."

The Syndicate National de l'Enseignment Superior (FEN) has answered the call to action by translating it and sending it throughout France. Representatives of Japanese student, faculty, religious and labor groups have written their support of the International Day of Protest idea.

The statement declares the war in Vietnam is an affront to "the dignity of all mankind and threatens it with nuclear destruction." It stresses that the "revolutionary struggles for self-determination which are sweeping the world today" of which the struggle in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic are a part, are "related to the struggle for democracy in America."

"The struggles in America against racism, poverty, and bureaucratic conformity are part of the same movement as the struggle against American militarism and imperialism. We must build a new America and join with those people in Asia, Africa and Latin America in building a New World."

"The Vietnam war has also illuminated the political crises in the United States," the appeal reads. "The people have lost control of the government. The Congress has abdicated its function of leading and transmitting popular discussion. The American people are treated as objects to be ignored or manipulated; they voted for peace, but they received a policy of war. Every day, people in the United States are coming to see that the struggles for civil rights, the struggle against poverty, the struggle for free speech in the universities and the struggle against the Vietnam war have at least one basic element in common; the inability of the American people to play a role in the decisions which affect their lives. With the slogan 'fighting Communism' all discussion is closed, and any action justified."

"The time has come," the statement says, "to go beyond debates about the politics of war; it is time for the people of the world to say to the U.S.A.: 'STOP'.

"We must unite! We must begin now!"

WORKERS
Vanguard

Vol. 10 No. 4 (112) Mid-September, 1965 Toronto — 10 Cents

Rally Lays Basis for United Front on Vietnam War

TORONTO — A committee for united action against the war in Vietnam was unanimously voted into existence by an audience of over 140 persons who attended a meeting on September 18 called to discuss What To Do To End The War In Vietnam.

Guest speaker Tom Hayden, a founding leader of the U.S. Students for a Democratic Society, was unable to attend. But the audience, composed of persons from a wide spectrum of political and social views, heard four speakers and carried on a lively discussion from the floor on the need for and how best to initiate effective action against the murderous war being waged against the Vietnamese people.

Pressing Need

The meeting was called because of the lack over the past year of any really effective actions against the U.S. aggression and the Canadian government's support of it, and the developing feeling that it is possible to overcome this situation through united action. A special appeal was made to all organizations that have identified themselves with such questions to participate in the meeting, and facilities for the display of literature from all such groups were made available. While there were well known activists from all currents in the audience, none officially identified his or her organization with the meeting. This brought a motion from the floor that the speakers and the chairman constitute themselves as the continuing committee, which was enthusiastically approved.

Bertrand Russell

Speaker David Middleton, a former NDP federal candidate, firmly identified himself with Bertrand Russell's statement to the Helsinki World Conference of Peace. The eminent British philosopher's statement, circulated on the back of the leaflet calling the meeting, declared "It has been said in the past that all parties to the Cold War are to blame for the arms race and for the threat of nuclear war. It can no longer be said with any justification. Events in recent years and present policies of the United States make clear beyond doubt that the threat to world peace is American imperialism." Russell urged irreconcilable struggle against American policy.

Middleton compared U.S. intervention in Korea, in which he participated as a Canadian army captain, to its present role in Vietnam. He very dramatically portrayed how the fate of the peoples of those countries figured in no way in the plans of Washing-

(See Page 4 — RALLY)

Rally Projects United Front

(Continued from Page 1)

ton. He sharply denounced Canada's participation in South Vietnam through its increased technical aid to the U.S. puppet regime. And he exposed the Pearson government's so-called peace making force in the Congo which he declared led to his severing all connections with the Canadian army. Canadian control over communications led to the trapping of Lumumba and his murder by the venal Tshombe, he said.

Edith Guild, a lecturer at York University, reported on her participation in a peace mission to Vietnam only a few weeks earlier. At first, embittered by the North Vietnamese government's refusal to admit her, she said she later came to understand their viewpoint. She likened their attitude to that of a man whose home had been broken into, his family harassed, his personal properties seized, rooms occupied. What is there to negotiate about with the interlopers, such a man would ask? He would demand, she said to a burst of applause, that they get out of my house.

Bill Sone, a provincial executive member of the New Democratic Party youth, and Henry Travainen, a leading activist in SUPA, addressed the meeting. Sone's declaration that it was everyone's responsibility to see that Vietnam was made an issue of the federal election won enthusiastic response from the audience.

Following a number of contributions from the floor which expressed a firm demand for action chairman David Hemblen entertained a series of motions that were discussed and passed unanimously. The platform speakers were asked and agreed to constitute themselves as a committee to explore individual's and organizations' preparedness to take part in united action on October 15 and 16, to undertake activities conducive to such action, to co-opt necessary forces to enable them to do so, and to carry on in the spirit of the meeting for action against the war in Vietnam after the events of October 16.

The process is now underway and word is being eagerly awaited for the type of action that Torontonians are to take to link their forces up to the world-wide actions against the war in Vietnam over October 15 and 16.

THE ELECTION ISSUES

Canadian Complicity in the War in Vietnam

"The popular thing" would be to urge the U.S. to pull out of Vietnam, said Progressive Conservative leader John Diefenbaker at an election meeting on October 25. Two days later, in the face of persistent pressure to speak out on Vietnam, a pivotal question in Canadian foreign policy, and certainly an issue in a federal election. Mr. Pearson made what he observed was his first comment in this area. He denounced those who advocate U.S. withdrawal. It is easy this way, he said, to arouse fear of a great power.

The entire world fears Washington's genocidal war against the Vietnamese freedom struggle, with its threat of escalation against China into a nuclear holocaust. Why do Mr. Pearson and Mr. Liefenbaker advocate approval, and even implicate Canada in such criminal actions, violating what is admittedly the popular feeling in the country?

It is as defenders of Canadian capitalist interests that the governments of both parties have made Canada the chief apologist and defender of U.S. imperialist interests anywhere and everywhere they are being threatened by the freedom struggles of the popular masses.

While the leading spokesmen of the NDP have failed to boldly and effectively take up the challenge of Vietnam in this election—the record is clear. The only way the Canadian electorate have of protesting Washington's murderous war in Vietnam and Canadian complicity is to vote NDP.

Quebec

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WORKERS Vanguard

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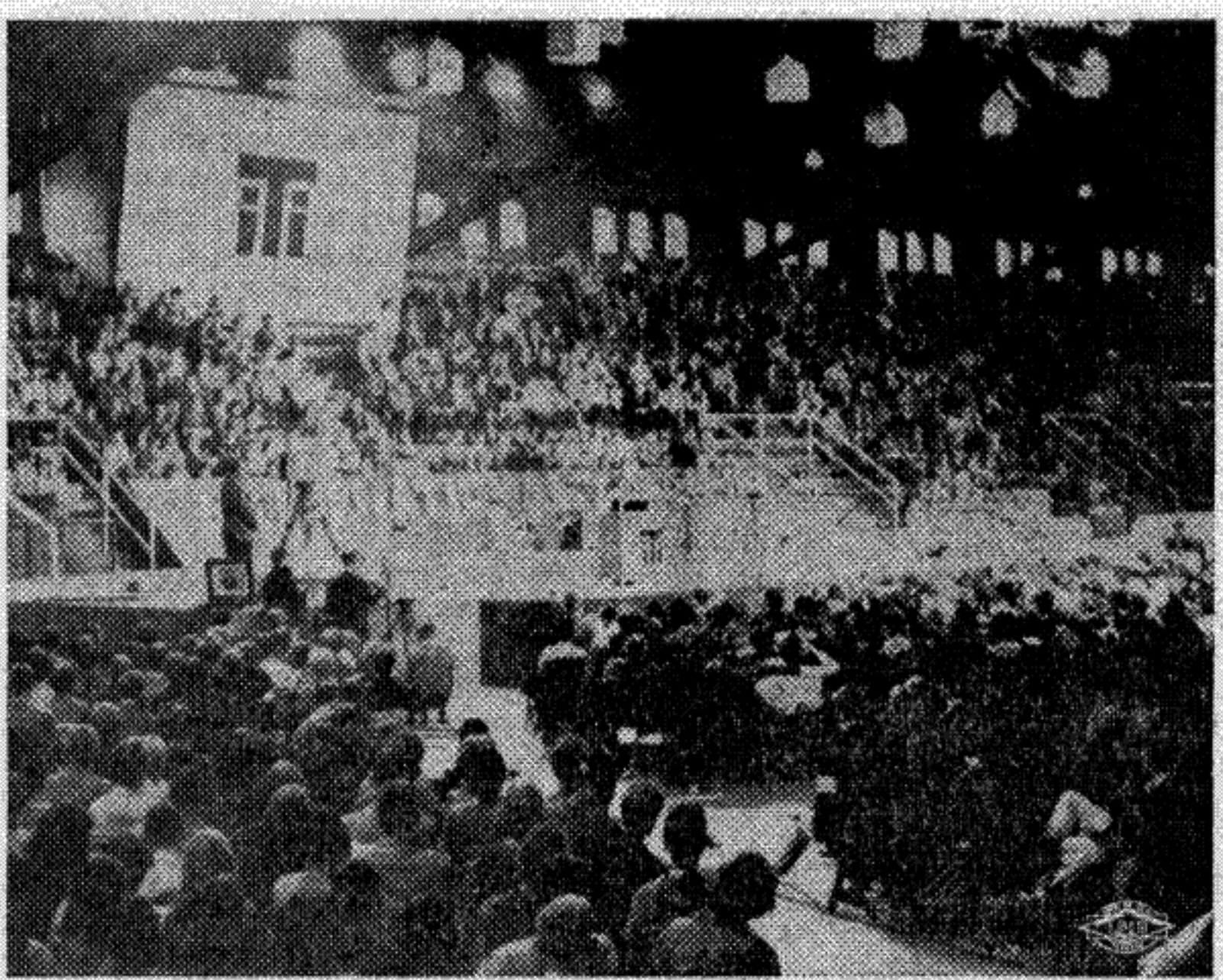
WORKERS Vanguard

#113 Mid-Oct. 1965



The Toronto Teach-in, held over last holiday weekend, was attended by 6,000 people. An estimated one million listened in via radio and TV hookup. In contrast to U.S. teach-ins which have been of a protest-against-the-war character, its U of T staff sponsors sought to keep it strictly academic. But testifying to the mounting concern over the U.S. war in Vietnam, and Canadian complicity, it ended, after three days of discussions by international figures, with a high content of protest.

WORKERS Vanguard

#114 Dec. 1965

he NDP In This Election

(Continued from Page 1)

are the gains registered this election the result of a temporary
e. The NDP ran second in 11 Ontario seats and, though it won
seats in Saskatchewan, finished second in nine of the 18 seats
e.

The question is — why didn't the party do better? As party leader
glas noted, disillusionment with the capitalist parties was so wide-
ad that 36% remained uncommitted well into the campaign. Why,
ng to form the government, which Douglas correctly declared as
party's aim and a possibility, why didn't the NDP rally enough
ort to form the official opposition?

The truth is that the NDP, with the reformist policies adopted
e its formation, had little to offer that differentiated it in any way
n the Liberal and Tory parties, both of which project a reformist
ge. And this election it said even less than what it has been
nally committed to by convention and official spokesmen.

FAILS TO MEET VIETNAM ISSUE

Last May 28th party leader T. C. Douglas made a major policy
dement in the house of commons on the war in Vietnam. The chief
rit of this speech was his clear condemnation of U.S. aggression
re as threatening to "escalate into a world holocaust which would
astate the greater part of the earth," and his characterization
the war as an attempt to crush a legitimate effort of the people
Vietnam to rule themselves unhampered by the economic domina-
n of great powers. He censored the Liberal government, supported
the Tories, for its "supine subservience" to the Johnson adminis-
tion.

Yet this federal election, when Canada's role, in a situation of
treme peril for all humanity, as he himself noted, is certainly up
debate, neither Douglas nor any other leading party spokesman
much as mentioned Vietnam, until prodded by audiences at public
etings.

Opponents of the U.S.'s dirty war in Vietnam and Canada's com-
city in it — right across the country, by various means — dragged
e question of Vietnam into the open — until finally both Mr. Pearson
d Mr. Diefenbaker affirmed their position in major policy state-
nts.

Mr. Diefenbaker conceded that "the popular thing" would be to
ge the U.S. to pull out of Vietnam (last poll 33% opposed the war
Vietnam and many others were undecided). Mr. Pearson said that
advocate U.S. withdrawal would arose fear of a great power, which
majority of Canadians are certainly fearful of. But even with this
portunity, this challenge, the entire NDP leadership failed to make
y pronouncements on Vietnam.

Faced with appeals from the flooor at the final grand rally of the
DP campaign held in Toronto, Douglas even dared to defend his
ilure to speak out on Vietnam. Although Canada is directly in-
olved in support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, he replied that we
ould have to get our own house in order before intervening else-
here — and that domestic issues are of prime concern in this elec-
on.

The net result of this policy was that the Liberals and Tories
opagated their lies in support of U.S. aggression with impunity —
d the NDP paid for it. Those who support U.S. intervention and
ose who are doubtful, not hearing the opposition viewpoint, prob-
ly voted against the NDP as they knew it was in someway against
e war there. And those who are opposed to the war were alienated
m the NDP for its failure to take up the issue.

WORKERS Vanguard

#115 Mid-Dec. 1965

An Appeal for Increased Opposition to the Vietnam War

The Fourth International, World Party of the Socialist Revolution, gathered at its second World Congress since Reunification (the eighth World Congress since its foundation), appeals urgently to you for effective aid and assistance to the Vietnamese people fighting against the increasingly fierce aggression of American imperialism.

No one can fail to admire the heroism of these masses who have been struggling for their national and social liberation for twenty-five years. Arms in hand, the workers and poor peasants of Vietnam have demonstrated that the invincibility of American imperialism is an unfounded myth. They have shown that even a small country can stand up to the world's foremost power, when it struggles for a just cause and when that struggle enjoys the support of the whole people.

The Vietnamese masses' struggle to repel the American imperialist aggressor **is the struggle of all the workers of the world.** Without their exemplary courage, the imperialists would be encouraged to put down in blood, and with ever greater insolence, any and all liberation movements, wherever they erupt in the world. They would endeavor more and more to encroach on, to undermine, and even to reduce that part of the world already torn from the grasp of their exploitation.

As the Soviet bureaucracy is not, however, despite all its cowardice, prepared to commit suicide, the escalation of American imperialism, if not firmly stopped in time, may well reach the level where it would open up the immediate threat of a world nuclear war. To combat imperialist aggression today, while there is still time, and while a nuclear outcome is not yet imminent, is also to fight to preserve the very existence of the human race.

Precisely because the heroic masses of Vietnam are fighting the cause of all workers, it would be shameful to continue to abandon them practically alone in the front ranks of the common struggle against imperialism. Forced to withstand all alone the assault of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers, equipped with the most modern arms, they are paying at ever-increasing costs the price of their commitment to the cause of their emancipation, and of international socialism. The number of dead is no longer reckoned. The country is covered with ruins. Vietnam has become the testing ground for the most hideous modern weapons of the imperialist bandits, who are destroying the vegetation, poisoning the water supplies, and experimenting with toxic gases.

It is the utmost importance that imperialism be directly made aware of the peoples' indignation and revulsion against its aggression in Vietnam. The fighting Vietnamese masses must receive meaningful aid. Fine words and appeals "for peace by negotiation" simply inspire sneers from this enemy.

Communist workers, Communist Party members, laborers and young intellectuals in the Workers' States: Open up and develop your campaign to force a stop to the Kremlin's shady deals with

(See Page 4 — INCREASE)

Increase Opposition to Vietnam War!

(Continued from Page 1)

the imperialist aggressor at the very moment when it is granting only a miserable driblet of aid to the heroic masses of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the NLF of South-Vietnam! Let the multi-millioned masses resound with the slogan: **"Planes and missiles for the Vietnamese people!"**

Workers, poor peasants, and nationalist militants of the semi-colonial countries: line up resolutely against imperialism; attack it on all fronts. **Take advantage of the fact that it has committed its major forces to Vietnam, to multiply new fronts and defeat its lackeys and agents wherever the conditions are favorable!**

Workers in the imperialist countries: in demonstrations and strikes, **demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of imperialist troops from Vietnam!** Longshoremen, railwaymen, teamsters, refuse to transport arms and ammunitions destined to imperialism's dirty and repressive war against the Vietnamese people struggling for its freedom!

Workers, students, youth, soldiers and Negro freedom fighters of the United States: the Vietnamese people ask only one thing, **that they be allowed to freely decide their own fate.** Your imperialist government is waging the same sort of war of oppression against these people as the British waged against your own Declaration of Independence in 1776, the same kind of war that the imperialist Nazis waged against the peoples of Europe between 1939 and 1945, or that French imperialism waged against the Algerian people from 1954 to 1962. Take up the old socialist slogan: **not a man, not a cent for this dirty imperialist war!** Gather in ever-growing numbers in a powerful fighting front, to put an end to the war by bringing back to the United States the soldiers who are falling in Vietnam for the continued replenishment of your bankers' vaults.

Workers of the entire world: Force the leaders of all the mass organizations and all the Workers States who presume to speak in socialism's name, to form an unbreachable **anti-imperialist united front,** under whose solid blows imperialism will be forced to retreat!

The Fourth International, with sections and militants tempered in the struggles of forty countries, calls on you to combine the maximum in vigilance and a critical attitude toward the traitorous or inadequate leaderships, with the maximum effort to unify in the struggle all those who are prepared to support in practice the heroic Vietnamese people.

Down with the imperialist aggression against Vietnam!

Long live the real solidarity of the world working class with the Vietnamese revolution!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

—The World Congress of the Fourth International.

December 15, 1965.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community.

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66 rue Guilbault O.,
Montréal 18, Qué.

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WORKERS Vanguard

Mid-December, 1965 #115

Movement Debates Policy & Organization

HOW TO END THE VIETNAM WAR

By Art Young

The protest across the United States against the war in Vietnam is continuing its rapid growth. The world-wide, massive co-ordinated effort on the International Days of Protest in no way marked a plateau for the movement—instead, it drew new forces into the struggle, and demonstrated the possibilities of further growth for this movement. The months following this action have been the establishment of new Committees to End the War in Vietnam, not only in areas with established protest forces, but also in new areas of the nation. Of particular interest is the rising protest in the southern states, among civil rights activists.

It seems clear that a powerful movement against the war can be forged; a movement which will be able to force the White House to end its war in Vietnam.

These were my main impressions after spending a week in Washington, attending the anti-Vietnam war convention and the SANE-sponsored March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam.

At every turn the Washington events reflected the growing strength of the protest. This march was considerably larger than the one held seven months previously. The size (35,000) exceeded all predictions. The convention was also much larger than expected, with over 1,000 persons in attendance, 650 of them delegates from anti-war groups. The meeting halls thus were constantly packed well beyond capacity, many of the delegates standing for hours to hear the involved debates, indicating their seriousness with the close attention they paid to the proceedings.

The convention also reflected the character of the movement—student-based and non-exclusionist. At the present time, the movement retains its greatest strength and growth potential on the campuses. It rejects the anti-communist cold-war ideology as part of the pro-war hysteria and welcomes the aid of anyone opposing the war. It has refused to kowtow to government red-baiting attacks, simply replying that the movement is open to all, and that all who participate determine its policy.

The convention was called to discuss and resolve the problems which rapid growth had thrust upon the movement. The traditional, liberally-oriented peace groups such as SANE, Women Strike for Peace, have not led the new militants coming into the fight. Rather the militants have tended to form independent single-issue committees, usually demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Such committees have sprung up all across the country (the most notable is the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.) However, these committees, unlike the other components of the anti-war movement, have as yet no national organization. Many came to the convention determined to constitute such an organization. After a lengthy and sharp debate which dominated most convention sessions, the first steps were taken toward the founding of this organization. Another body will serve to bring together representatives of all anti-war groups (independent committees, radical youth groups, anti-war political formations, and pacifist and religious groups opposed to the Vietnam war.) Such a body will co-ordinate the activities of the various anti-war forces.

The convention overwhelmingly supported the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. This was reflected in the debate on the SANE march. Speaker after speaker said that while they did not agree with the SANE program of appealing to Johnson for a pause in bombing, and for negotiations to stop the war, they would join the march, carrying their own signs demanding immediate withdrawal. Thousands of marchers carried such signs.

The distinction between the "withdrawal" and "negotiations" slogans is important. The demand for negotiations is not sharply different from Johnson's phony call for "unconditional negotiations." It leaves unanswered the question—in whose interests will the negotiated settlement be made—the Vietnamese or U.S. imperialism? Indeed, many proponents of this slogan claim negotiations to be the best means of maintaining American interests. This philosophy led SANE spokesmen to state that their march was not a protest, but rather one offering "constructive proposals" to Johnson. It also led the **Washington Post** to call the SANE wing of the anti-war movement the "loyal opposition" to the war, distinct, presumably, from the other anti-war forces who view the U.S. as responsible for the war, and demand an end to its aggression.

In essence the "negotiations" demand implies that the U.S. has something to negotiate in Vietnam, some right to be there. Proponents of the withdrawal demand deny this right, counterposing the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. This right cannot be exercised while foreign troops occupy the country. Further, since U.S. intervention is the sole prop for the continuation of the war, the most direct way to end the war is to withdraw the American soldiers. And the demand for withdrawal is unequivocal and not liable to misinterpretation.

The serious manner and open-minded way in which the anti-war militants approached discussions was a powerful example to those Canadians in attendance.

For the Canadian protest movement has not yet made the significant breakthroughs of its American counterpart. Its protests have been far too infrequent, the established peace groups far too inactive in the face of the profound U.S. escalation of the war. Indeed, even when actions have been taken, they have been isolated, sporadic, and smaller than they might have been if united with the other anti-war elements. Where some untiy has been achieved, all too often it has been marred by red-bating and petty squabbling.

Yet there are considerable latent possibilities for opposing the U.S. war and Ottawa's subservience to it. Polls show that one out of three Canadians opposes U.S. actions in Vietnam. The numerous Canadian cities that saw protests on Oct. 15-16, and the experiences of the **Vanguard** Trailblazers across the country illustrate this widespread opposition to the war, and a willingness to express it.

Paradoxical though it may seem, the existence of the New

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Movement Debates Policy & Organization

Democratic Party is one of the fundamental reasons for the lag in Canadian anti-war protests. The most politically conscious Canadian radicals are members and supporters of the NDP. In the U.S., it is these radicals who are leading the protest. But in Canada, they look to the NDP leadership for direction. And they do obtain direction—of a negative sort. The party brass has consciously curbed any tendency to vocal opposition to the Vietnam war. They decided not to raise it during the election, and they do not intend to raise it in the coming parliament.

Surely such an approach can only be characterized as a betrayal of the militants within the party, and of the Canadian working class.

What a campaign the NDP could carry! What a protest it could wage with its three newspapers, 21 MP's, thousands of members, tens of thousands of dollars, and the allegience of 1.3 million Canadians! This could not fail to find a response. And it would go a long way to meeting the NDP's responsibilities to its membership and to the peoples of the entire world.

The task is now to push the party to speak out on Vietnam. Within the clubs NDPers must question the party's silence; anti-war groups must pay special attention to planning actions which will have particular appeal to NDPers.

Above all the anti-war forces must unite in opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam, in common, sustained actions. The war is entering a new phase, with the now-unlimited American troop buildup, with the U.S. armed forces carrying most of the fighting, and with saturation-terror bombing a daily occurrence. The recent bombing of the Haiphong complex indicates that the White House is intent on further escalaton, ultimately leading to a direct attack upon China. The Chinese people have the right to take measures in their own defense, and the Soviet Union has the responsibility to stand behind China. The belatedly firm response of the Soviet Union to the U.S. aggression should point out to all the ominous implications of the impending confrontation between the world's two mightiest powers. Only through concerted united actions can there be a perspective of putting an end to the war.

Those who have an understanding of the situation bear a heavy responsibility to participate in, and to initiate actions designed to end the war. This means demanding Canada end its shameless support of the war. It means demanding that Ottawa publicly condemn the U.S. war. And above all it means demanding that the U.S. get out of Vietnam—**NOW.**